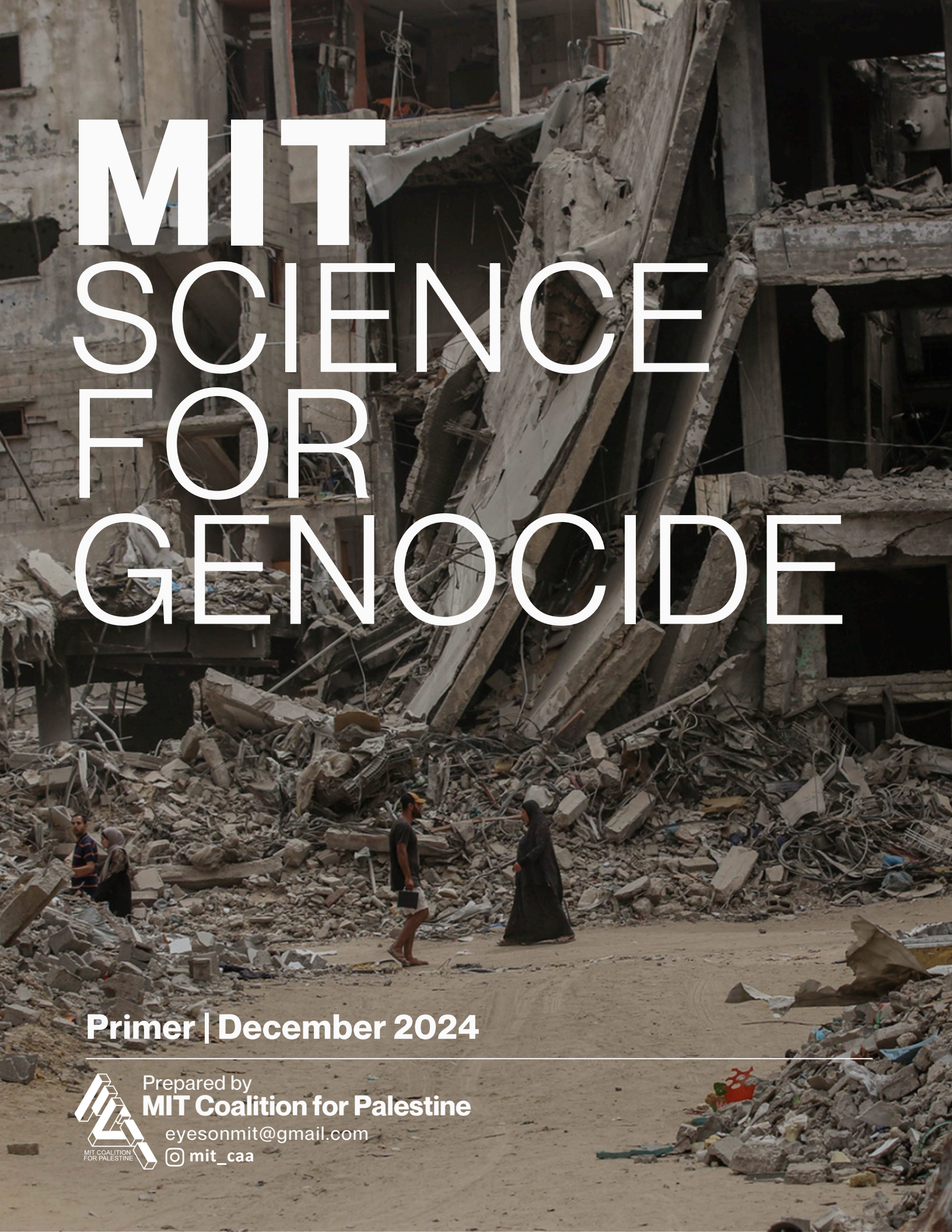

MIT SCIENCE FOR GENOCIDE

Primer | December 2024

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Acknowledgements

Our Coalition

The MIT Coalition for Palestine is composed of the following organizations:

MIT Alumni for Palestine (A4P)
MIT Arab Student Organization (ASO)
MIT Asian American Initiative (AAI)
MIT Black Graduate Student Association (BGSA)
MIT Black Students' Union (BSU)
MIT Disability Justice Collective (DJC)
MIT Coalition Against Apartheid (CAA)
MIT Divest
MIT DUSP for Palestinian Liberation (D4PL)
MIT Faculty and Staff for Palestine (FS4P)
MIT Globally Indigenous Students for Justice (IS4J)
MIT Grads for Palestine (G4P)
MIT Jews for Collective Liberation (JCL)
MIT Latino Cultural Center (LCC)
MIT Muslims for Justice (M4J)
MIT Reading for Revolution (R4R)
MIT Taara
Palestine@MIT (Pal@MIT)
MIT Written Revolution
Trans@MIT

Authors

This report was authored by concerned students and scientists at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

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Our gratitude

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About the MIT Coalition for Palestine

The MIT Coalition for Palestine is an MIT movement of scientists opposed to colonialism, occupation, and apartheid in Palestine and beyond. We are guided by four principles of unity: 1) We are committed to the liberation of Palestine. 2) We support the right of oppressed and occupied people to resist their oppression. 3) We fight for Palestinian liberation within the broader struggle for liberation of all oppressed peoples. 4) We defend the right of every human to live a life of dignity.

For the children of Palestine

Three girls in Gaza, including Tarazi sisters circa 1950s
© Kegham Djeghalian

Faris Odeh, martyred 14 years old (2000)

Oh rascal children of Gaza

You who constantly disturbed me with your screams under my window,
You who filled every morning with rush and chaos,
You who broke my vase and stole the lonely flower on my balcony,
Come back –
And scream as you want,
And break all the vases,
Steal all the flowers,
Come back,
Just come back...

- Khaled Juma, 2014

Hind Rajab, martyred 5 years old (2024)

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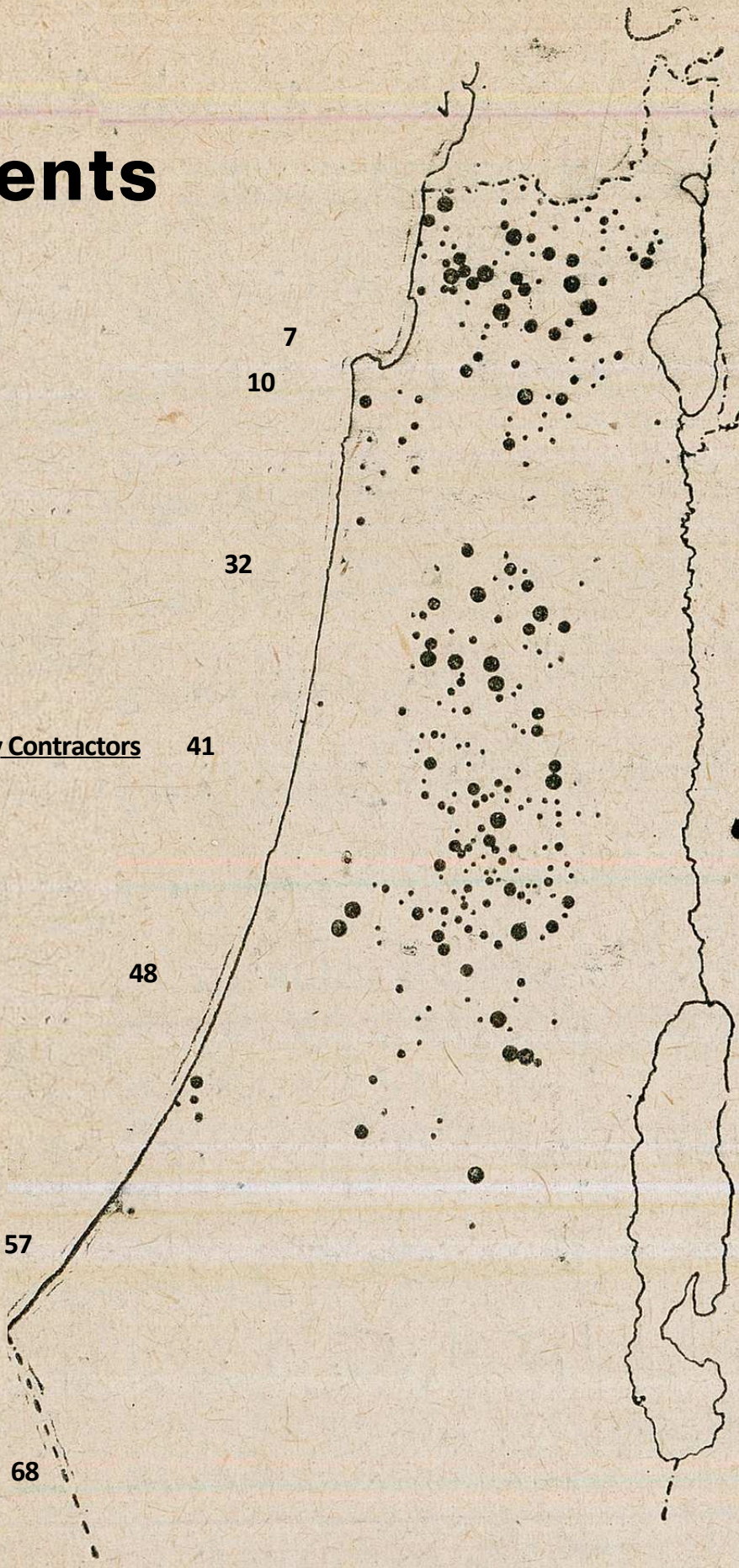


شكل رقم (١٠)
انتاج زيت الزيتون فى فلسطين

Executive Summary

Aed Abu Amro at the Great March of Return, 2018 © Mustafa Hassouna
Israeli soldiers in Beit Lahia, Gaza December, 2023 © Yonatan Sindel

Executive Summary

Part I

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) contributes to the Gaza Genocide and Zionist settler colonialism in Palestine in at least two distinct ways. First, **MIT laboratories on campus conduct weapons and surveillance research directly sponsored by the Israeli military.** Since at least 2015, MIT laboratories have received millions of dollars from the Israeli Ministry of Defense for projects to develop algorithms that help drone swarms to better pursue escaping targets; to improve underwater surveillance technology; and support military aircraft evade missiles. Two of these sponsorships were renewed since October 7th, 2023, while one came up for renewal in December 2024. Second, MIT maintains institutional collaborations through the ILP, LGO, CSAIL, and MIT Energy Initiative programs with companies that sell vast amounts of weapons to Israel. These include Elbit Systems, Israel's largest military contractor, as well as Maersk, Lockheed Martin, and Caterpillar. These collaborations grant genocide profiteers privileged access to MIT talent and expertise.

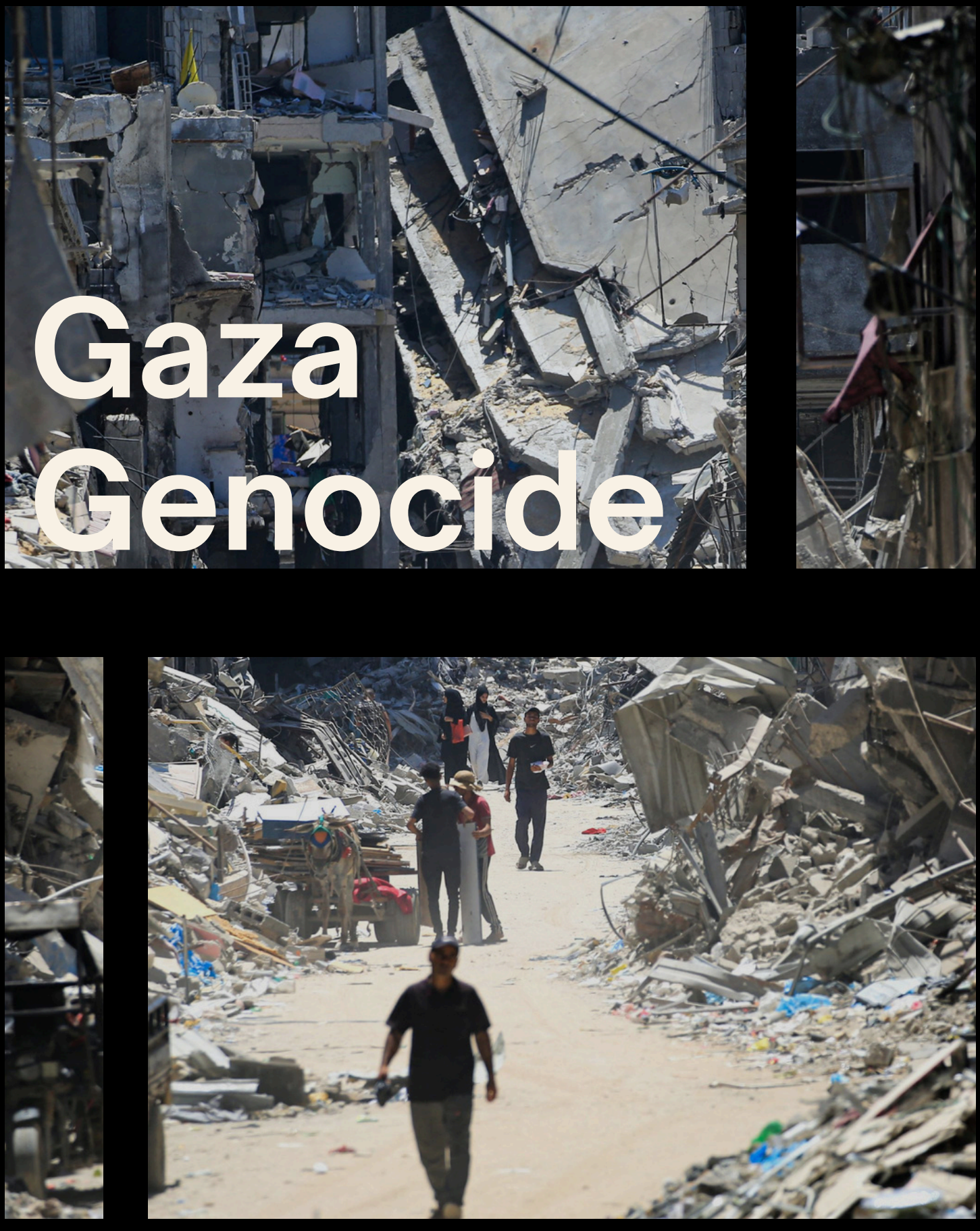
MIT's ties to the genocide of Palestinians are **immoral, illegal, and unpopular** among the MIT community. The sponsorships break MIT's own rules on foreign engagements, scientific ethics, nondiscrimination, health, safety, and the environment as well as federal and international law. By abetting genocide, MIT sends a message to Palestinians at MIT that it does not value their human life. MIT has the power to end its ties unilaterally, just as other schools have in Europe and North America. Since 2020 for instance, MIT has taken action against research ties and corporate partnership over political and human rights concerns in Xinjiang, Ukraine, and the Middle East. With the highest turnout in living memory, the student body ratified two campus-wide referendums in 2024 to end MIT's ties to Israeli crimes against humanity: a 63.7 percent yes-vote in the MIT Undergraduate Association and a 70.5 percent vote in the Graduate Student Union – with ample support from faculty and staff. This was followed in December 2024 by a resolution in the Graduate Student Council to end all research sponsorships by the Israeli Ministry of Defense.

Executive Summary

Part II

The rest of this research primer is organized as follows. Part 1.1 (Gaza Genocide) explains in detail why the Israeli war on Gaza since October 7, 2023 is not just a war or series of war crimes but is an organized campaign of genocide in intent and effect. Part 1.2 (Nakba and Settler Colonialism) places this genocidal project in the historical context of Zionism, while Part 1.3 (Political Economy of a Genocide) examines how those projects rely overwhelmingly on American public finance, weapons, state protection, private capital, and philanthropy. The final part of this section (Role of Universities) details the general role of higher education institutions in enabling, but also challenging, these crimes.

Part 2.1 then examines how science research is conducted at MIT, and the general role of Israeli Ministry of Defense funding at MIT. Part 2.2 examines the specific research projects and Principal Investigators (PIs) that rely on Israeli military funding, while Part 2.3 critically appraises who benefits from this research. Part 3 and its subsections then examine in detail MIT's collaborations with weapon manufacturers who aid and abet Israeli state crimes, in particular Elbit Systems, Maersk, Caterpillar Inc. and Lockheed Martin. Part 4.1 presents the demands of the MIT Coalition for Palestine since fall of 2023 and the Institute's repressive response. Part 4.2 explains specific MIT policies which MIT has broken in preserving these ties. Part 4.3 presents MIT precedent for cutting ties with human rights abusers. Part 5 then describe immediate action for MIT authorities to take: the President, Treasurer, Chancellor, Provost, Corporation, lower offices as well as MIT's faculty and students. Part 6 concludes.



Khan Younis, June 11, 2024. © Eyad Baba | AFP

Gaza Genocide (2023-present)

Israeli airstrike in Gaza, October 7 2023 © Wafa

> *O, Death, our intent is clear:*
> *We will beat you,*
> *Even if they slay us, one and all.*
> *Death, fear us,*
> *For here we are, unafraid.*
>
> Tamim al-Barghouti, translated by Refaat al-Areer

The Genocide Convention and Rome Statute define genocide as "the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group." Since the Hamas attack on October 7th, 2023, Israeli forces have attempted to carry out a genocide through a systematic, deliberate campaign of mass killing and starvation of Palestinians in Gaza and the large-scale destruction of Gazan society and infrastructure. The Gaza Strip is a densely populated, ghettoized territory, 6 by 25 square miles, where two million Palestinians have lived under Israeli-imposed siege for 17 years. Since 2007, Gaza has become increasingly impoverished and unlivable due to the air, land, and sea blockade imposed by Israel and Egypt, as well as periodic bombing campaigns by the Israeli government in 2008, 2012, 2014, 2018, and 2021.

From October 2023 to November 2024, Israeli forces dropped more than 85,000 tons of explosives on the Gaza Strip, exceeding the combined weight of all the bombs dropped on London, Dresden, and Hamburg in the second world war.[1] The consequences are entirely foreseen and accepted. "Nothing happens by accident," reported Israeli army sources to Hebrew media. "When a 3-year-old girl is killed in a home in Gaza, it's because someone in the army decided it wasn't a big deal for her to be killed—that it was a price worth paying in order to hit [another] target."

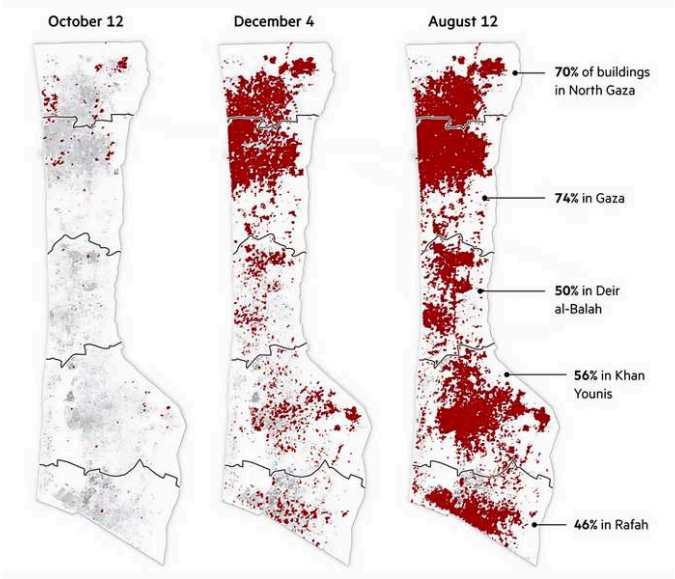
1 Pape, Robert. "Hamas Is Winning." *Foreign Affairs.* June 21, 2024.

Effects

The first evidence is the effects. At least 45,000 Palestinians have been directly killed and 105,000 injured. Seventy percent of those killed are women and children according to the United Nations.**[2]** The death counts by the local ministry of health are judged reliable by the medical journal *The Lancet*, the World Health Organization, and the US State Department. Tens of thousands more are buried under rubble or forcibly disappeared into Israeli prison camps like Sde Teiman, where survivors have reported widespread torture, starvation, and rape. Oxfam reported in January 2024 that the killing rate in Gaza is the highest recorded of any armed conflict in the 21st century – more than those in Syria, Iraq, Sudan, and Ukraine. In July 2024, health experts at *The Lancet* estimated excess mortality at 186,000, or 7.9% of Gaza's population. In October 2024, another independent assessment by 99 American physicians working in Gaza estimated the death toll as already greater than 118,908, or 5.4% of Palestine's population in Gaza. These acts of mass killing have names: the tent, flour, church, and aid convoy massacres, the hospital massacres, and massacres in the camps of Nuseirat, Al-Mawasi, and Jabalia. In the Israeli prime minister's own words in September 2024, "our goals are clear, and our actions speak for themselves."

Raphaël Lemkin, the Polish-Jewish lawyer who introduced the word genocide in the 1940s had a deeper understanding of genocide than direct, mass killing: "it is intended rather to signify a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups" including "the disintegration of the political and social institutions, of culture, language, national feelings, religion, and [their] economic existence." This is also Israeli policy in Gaza.

Building Damage in Gaza



Sources: OpenStreetMap; damage analysis of Copernicus Sentinel-1 satellite data by Corey Scher of CUNY Graduate Center and Jamon Van Den Hoek of Oregon State University
© Financial Times

By April 2024, UN rapporteurs reported that Israeli forces have destroyed 80% of the schools, 70% of the housing stock, leveled all 12 universities in Gaza and damaged or destroyed 31 of the 36 hospitals, along with 195 heritage sites, 13 public libraries, 227 mosques, three churches, and the Central Archives. Israeli forces have also destroyed cemeteries, orphanages, refugee camps, civil registries, roads, water sanitation and electricity plants, and 70 percent of Gaza's farm and orchard lands.**[3]** Among the martyred are Palestine's educated and professional strata: its physicians, nurses, first responders, journalists, engineers, UN personnel, academics, and civil servants. By April 2024, some 5,479 students, 261 teachers and 95 university professors had been directly killed.

2 Moench, Mallory. "Nearly 70% of Gaza War Dead Are Women and Children, UN Says." *BBC News*, November 7, 2024.

3 "A Cartography of Genocide: Israel's Conduct in Gaza Since October 2023." *Forensic Architecture*, October 25, 2024.

Northern Gaza, December 28, 2023 © Yonatan Sindel

Genocide may also be accomplished by starvation, which inflicts on the targeted group "conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part." Starvation of Palestinians is the deliberate result of official Israeli policy. The starvation campaign builds on existing Israeli siege policies since 2007 to de-develop and calorie-count the ghettoized territory, including a long-standing practice of denying exit for medical or religious reasons and preventing the import of vital supplies. Specifically since October 2023, Israeli forces have engineered famine and disease epidemics by (1) closures of the northern Erez and Al-Muntar crossings and periodic closures of the Rafah and Kerem Shalom border crossing; (2) routine targeting of bakeries, food kitchens, humanitarian aid convoys, and hospitals; (3) the destruction of agricultural lands and plant life; (4) lethal attack on the staff of the humanitarian orgs such as World Food Kitchen, Médecins Sans Frontières, and the International Rescue Committee; (5) and cascading logistic and permitting bottlenecks for aid delivery.**[4]** For example, between January and February 2024 Israeli authorities reduced humanitarian aid inflows by 50%. This starvation campaign continues and is getting worse: In December 2024, the flow of aid into Gaza reached all-time lows.

The human consequences of this campaign are predictable and accepted. All five of Gaza's wastewater treatment plants and most of its 65 sewage pumping stations were forced to shut down by November 2023.**[5]** The IPC has repeatedly announced the breach of severe famine thresholds since December 2023. Oxfam reported in April that people in northern Gaza on average survive on less than 245 calories a day. In some cases, doctors are forced to operate on patients without anesthesia. An estimated 90% of young children and pregnant and breastfeeding women face severe food poverty. Global Nutrition Cluster estimated in February 2024 that 1 in 6 children in north Gaza are acutely malnourished and that 90% of children under five have at least one infectious disease. Health authorities document severe and unpreced-ented outbreaks of diarrhea, cholera, polio, sepsis, hepatitis, jaundice, diarrhea, and dysentery. In June 2024, Save the Children reported that an estimated 20,000 children are now orphans. Thousands of children are also limb amputees.**[6]** Surveying the devastation, Israeli officials are quite satisfied. "I am person-ally proud of the ruins of Gaza" said Israeli cabinet minister May Golan in February 2024, "that every baby, even 80 years from now, will tell their grandchildren what the Jews did."

4 See Al-Jazeera's film *Starving Gaza* with Hind Hassan, September 29, 2024.

5 "The Siege of Gaza's Water." Center for Strategic and International Studies, January 12, 2024.

6 Griswold, Eliza. "The Children Who Lost Limbs in Gaza." The New Yorker, March 21, 2024.

> *"We're surrounded from all directions, and people don't know where to go. The city has been subjected to massive destruction of buildings and infrastructure, in an attempt to force the remaining residents to leave. There is no food or water, and we currently face a real famine. It's a genocide against the residents and the displaced people who are sheltering here."* - Beit Layhia resident Ali Hamouda, November 2024.

Genocide is often accompanied by ethnic cleansing – the systematic, forced removal of ethnic, racial, or religious groups from a given area. This can be accomplished through direct means, such as deportation or indirect methods aimed to coerce the victim group into fleeing while preventing its return, such as murder, rape, and property destruction. Ethnic cleansing is also Israeli policy in Gaza. In a leaked 'concept paper' an Israel ministry created plans to expel the 2.3 million Palestinians of Gaza to the Sinai desert but was rebuffed by Egypt in late October 2023. Israeli forces have since ordered the evacuation of 1.5 million Palestinians to the south, dropping leaflets announcing that "you (civilian) will die for nothing," that anyone who remains in the North "may be determined an accomplice in a terrorist organization," and that those in Khan Younis must leave or be killed.**[7]** Almost 1.9 million Palestinians in Gaza are displaced, including the immediate families of MIT students.

In October 2024, the Israeli army issued orders to 400,000 Palestinians in the north of Gaza to flee or be killed as part of the 'generals plan' to 'cleanse' Palestinians in the north, concentrate those who remain in closed military zones, and starve them to death.**[8]** For 40 days, almost no food has been able to enter the north of Gaza according to the UN.**[9]** Israeli forces have killed journalists, set fire to bakeries and hospitals, and committed massacres.

The latter has been accomplished with tank fire, air strikes, armed drones, and death marches. **[10]** On November 6, 2024 IDF generals confirmed to reporters that "there is no intention of allowing the residents of the northern Gaza Strip to return to their homes" and no humanitarian aid would be allowed to enter the north, since there are "no more civilians left."**[11]**

Israeli policies of ethnic cleansing, war crimes, and genocide are documented by Israeli troops. For instance, Israeli combat soldiers admitted to Hebrew media in July 2024 a policy of "summary executions" and that "it's permissible to shoot everyone, a young girl, an old woman."**[12]** Civilian corpses left to rot or be eaten by stray animals are then hidden from view, ahead of the arrival of international aid convoys, so that "images of people in advanced stages of decay don't come out." This accompanies a policy by army commanders to destroy Palestinian homes and mosques by fire, D-9 bulldozers or IEDs. "Before you leave, you burn down the house — every house," one commander told his subordinates. "This is backed up at the battalion commander level. It's so that they won't be able to return." Acts of looting, demolition, starvation, forced nudity, sleep deprivation, beating, and gang-rape of Palestinians are amply documented by Israeli soldiers themselves as well as Palestine's brave journalists.**[13]**

7 "Israeli Army Threats Ordering Residents of Northern Gaza to Leave May Amount to War Crimes." *Amnesty International*, October 25, 2023.

8 "Israel Plan to Expel Palestinians from North Gaza 'Could Last Several Months'." *Middle East Eye*, October 11, 2024.

9 "Virtually no aid has reached besieged north Gaza in 40 days, UN says." *BBC*, November 20, 2024.

10 Idan, L. "Exterminate, Expel, Resettle: Israel's Endgame in Northern Gaza." *+972 Magazine*, November 1, 2024.

11 Bethan McKernan and William Christou. "Palestinians Will Not Be Allowed to Return to Homes in Northern Gaza, Says IDF." *The Guardian*, November 6, 2024.

12 Reiff, Ben. "'I'm Bored, so I Shoot': The Israeli Army's Approval of Free-for-All Violence in Gaza." *+972 Magazine*. July 8, 2024.

13 Sanders, Richard. "What Did Al Jazeera's Investigation into Israeli War Crimes in Gaza Reveal?" *Al Jazeera*, October 3, 2024. See also IDF soldier defenses of gang-rape in Sde Teiman as well as UN report A/79/232 (September 11, 2024).

Intent

Genocide is ultimately a crime of intent. It is often justified on the grounds of colonial right, national security, and revenge. Statements calling for the extermination and expulsion of Palestinian life in Gaza are made at all levels of Israeli government and inform Israeli policy. They include the President, Prime Minister, National Security and Defense ministers, Knesset members, generals, and military personnel. On 9 October 2023 for instance, Defense Minister Yoav Gallant called Gazans "human animals" and announced a complete siege on Gaza – "no electricity, no food, no water, no fuel". He clarified, "We will end things inside Gaza […]. I have removed all restraints, [you're allowed to] attack everything. We will eliminate everything." President Isaac Herzog blamed "the entire nation" of Palestine for the Hamas attack. The official social media account for the state of Israel announced that "there are no innocent civilians" in Gaza.**[14]**

Scene from contemporary Gaza in *From Ground Zero* (2024)
© Rashid Masharawi

Genocide is the revealed preference of influential members of the Likud-led governing coalition. The Minister of Education called for a "second Nakba." The Minister for National Security declared on national television that all Palestinians and their families who support any armed resistance against Israel are "all terrorists, and they should also be destroyed" and that Gaza, after its depopulation, should be resettled with Israeli Jews. The Minister of Energy announced that "all the civilian population in Gaza is ordered to leave immediately…they will not receive a drop of water or a single battery until they leave the world." The Minister of Heritage advocated dropping an atomic bomb on Gaza saying that "there is no such thing as uninvolved civilians in Gaza." Elected Israeli parliamentarians have called for Gaza to be "flattened", "starved", "erased", and "thirsted." Cabinet officials' desire for genocide affects state policy. "I have got people in the cabinet who don't want an aspirin to get into Gaza because of what's happened" the prime minister reportedly told the US Secretary of State in defending Israel's starvation policy, "that's people in my coalition."**[15]**

Official defenses of genocide invoke Manichean notions of "Biblical duty" and "national security." On Oct 28, the Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu framed his ground invasion of Gaza as having "one supreme goal: To destroy the murderous enemy," pitting the "children of light" against "the children of darkness." He described Gaza as "the city of evil, we will turn all the places in which Hamas deploys and hides into ruins." He quoted the verse Devarim 25:17 in a letter to soldiers, which ends with an exhortation "to wipe out the memory of Amalek from under the heavens." This verse is often understood as a divine commandment to kill any descendents of the Amalekite people.

14 See Law for Palestine, Database of Israeli Incitement to Genocide (January 15, 2024).

15 Foer, Franklin. "Biden and Netanyahu's War: The Dangers of Being Too Close." *The Atlantic*, September 25, 2024.

Intent

The relevant biblical passage reads as follows: **“Now go, attack Amalek, and proscribe all that belongs to him. Spare no one, but kill alike men and women, infants and sucklings.”[16]** Finance Minister Bezalel Smotrich repeated this sentiment in April 2024: "There are no half measures … Rafah, Deir al-Balah, Nuseirat – total annihilation. 'Thou shalt blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven.'" In August, the Finance Minister said that "it might be justified and moral" to "starve 2 million people", lamenting that the world won't allow it.

Genocidal intent is expressed by senior members of the Israeli armed forces. On October 9, IDF Major General Giora Eiland, former head of the Israeli National Security Council and adviser to the defense minister wrote in the daily newspaper *Yedioth Ahronoth* that "Gaza will become a place where no human being can exist" and that “creating a severe humanitarian crisis in Gaza is a necessary means to achieving the goal.” He continued, “The people should be told that they have two choices; to stay and to starve, or to leave.” IDF spokesman Daniel Hagari said in October 2023 that “we are dropping thousands of tons of munitions on Gaza…We’re focused on what causes maximum damage.” Chief of the military rabbinate Eyal Krim, who previously counseled that Jewish soldiers can satisfy the sexual ‘evil urge’ on Gentile women captives, vowed “uncompromising damage on the enemy” in order to ensure the “firm grip on the land of our ancestors.”**[17]**

Genocidal policy motivated by revenge is understood up and down the chain of command. Israeli colonels who led troops into Beit Lahia told Israeli TV on November 4th, 2023 that Gaza should become “a fallow land,” a “scorched earth,” unliveable, and without a future. “There is vengeance for what they did to us... in 100 years they will know that you don’t mess with the Jews.” Another brigadier general declared “we shall pulverize every accursed plot of land from which [the enemy] came, we shall destroy it and the memory of it … and we shall not return until it is annihilated.” In February 2024, Commander-in-Chief of the IDF Hatsef Hallevi said “we do not want to leave Rafah with its infrastructure intact.”**[18]** Genocidal intent is consistent with the long-standing ‘Dahya Doctrine’ of the Israeli military, as outlined by Gadi Eisenkot, the Chief of Staff of the Israel Defense Forces from 2015-2019 and current cabinet-level minister, which calls for the large-scale destruction of civilian infrastructure and shelter as a tactic to undermine Israel’s enemies. In November 2024, an IDF division commander operating in northern Gaza explained to *Haaretz* reporters: "No one is returning to the northern part...We received very clear orders. My task is to create a cleansing of the area."

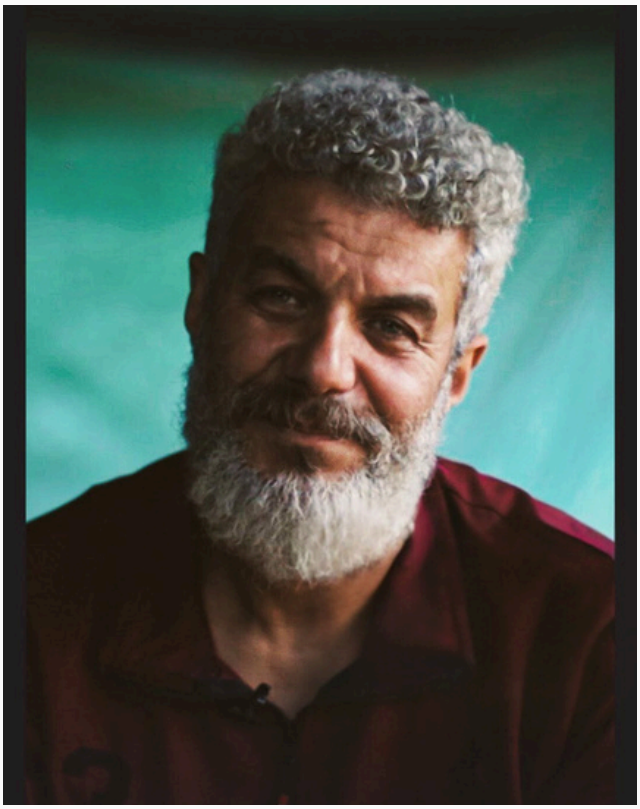
16 1 Samuel 15:3 . See Rosen, Maya. "Facing Amalek." *Jewish Currents*, March 22, 2024.

17 Karim, Eil. “The Victory of the Spirit of the IDF Soldiers: They Are Willing to Go into a Battle That Has No Morality” [Hebrew]. *Israel Hayom*, October 19, 2023.

18 Zitun, Yoav. “IDF Chief in Gaza: 'We've Killed Over 900 Terrorists in Rafah, We're Wearing Down Hamas.” *Ynet News*, February 7, 2024.

Intent

Genocidal intent is not limited to the elite, official level but is embraced within Israeli Jewish society. Common soldiers chant to “wipe off the seed of Amalek” and “may your village burn!” In October 2023, the army platformed a morale officer and recruiter inciting troops to “erase them, their families, mothers and children,” and saying, “these animals can no longer live…Every Jew with a weapon should go out and kill them. If you have an Arab neighbor, don’t wait, go to his home and shoot him.” Calls to “erase” and “flatten” Gaza are repeated in Israeli press, mainstream television such as Channel 12 and 14, as well as Tiktok, X, Meta apps, and Telegram.[19]



Mahdi Karira, puppeteer in Gaza June 2024 © Amjad Al Fayoumi | Sama Quds

A new “genocide pop” genre of music includes the song Harbu Darbu, which reached #1 on streaming platforms in Israel and calls for the death of Palestinians in Gaza. The song has verses that state: “Wait for it to rain on you, whores”, “you bunch of fucking rats”, and refers to Palestinians as “children of Amalek”.[20] Israeli pop star Lior Narkis toured army bases singing "Gaza, you black woman, you trash” and “you bitch, you daughter of a fat whore.” These anecdotes are vulgar manifestations of a more wide-spread trend of dehumanization and manufactured consent that extends to “polite” society.[21] For instance, 94% of Jewish Israelis polled in November 2023 believed that Israel was using enough or too little firepower in Gaza.[22] In February 2024, 68% of Jewish Israelis polled opposed “the transfer of humanitarian aid to Gaza residents.”[23]

Renad Attallah, 10 years old in Gaza, October 2024 © Renad’s Instagram

19 McGreal, Chris. “The Language Being Used to Describe Palestinians Is Genocidal.” *The Guardian*. October 16, 2023.

20 Landler, Mark. “‘Erase Gaza’: War Unleashes Incendiary Rhetoric in Israel.” *The New York Times*, November 15, 2023.

21 Zonszein, Mairav. “The Problem Isn’t Just Netanyahu. It’s Israeli Society”. *Foreign Policy*, April 2, 2024.

22 Gordon, Anna. “What Israelis Think of the War With Hamas.” *Time*, November 10, 2023.

23 Hermann, Tamar, and Yaron Kaplan. “Most Israelis: An "Absolute Victory" to the War Is Unlikely.” *The Israel Democracy Institute*, February 20, 2024.

Recognition

The fact that the state of Israel is committing a genocide in Gaza has been recognized by high authorities in the academic and human rights community. These include Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, the Lemkin Institute for Genocide Prevention, Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Monitor, Forensic Architecture, the Center for Constitutional Rights, and Human Rights Watch cofounder and former ACLU national director Aryeh Neier.**[24]** Israeli Holocaust scholars Raz Segal, Omer Bartov, Lee Mordechai, and Amos Goldberg have assessed Israeli actions in Gaza to be an attempt at genocide**[25]**. They join 55 scholars and subject matter experts on the genocides in Armenia, Cambodia, Rwanda, Bosnia, Ukraine, Namibia, and North America. The reality of genocide in Gaza is amply discussed in the fora of academic journals such as *Journal of Genocide Research* and *Opinio Juris*, as well as non-academic journals, such as *Lawfare, Just Security, n+1, Jewish Currents, +972*, and *New Left Review*. They join journalists and scholars such as A. Dirk Moses, William Schabas, Noura Erakat, Amira Hass, Maryam Jamshidi, Taner Akçam, Gideon Levy, Nimer Sultany, Martin Shaw, Ghousoon Bisharat, John B. Quigley, Craig Mokhiber, Arielle Angel, and Amy Goodman.

Israeli crimes in Gaza are further recognized by the international courts and UN officials. In January 2024, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in *South Africa v. Israel* issued provisional measures considering it plausible that Israeli military action in Gaza amounts to genocide in intent and effect. The court ordered Israel to prevent genocide and desist from killing, injuring, and destroying Palestinian life. The genocide charge is also levied by Palestinian civil society, such as the Palestinian Centre for Human Rights, Al Mezan Center for Human Rights and Al-Haq.

Expulsions of Palestinians from north of Gaza, October 2024

In late February 2024, Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International asserted that Israel had failed to comply with the ICJ's provisional measures and that obstructing aid flows amounted to war crimes. In May, the ICJ ruled that the ongoing invasion of Rafah violates Palestinians' right for safety and must cease immediately. This order was ignored. On November 21, 2024, the International Criminal Court (ICC) issued arrest warrants for the Israeli prime minister and defense minister for "the war crime of starvation as a method of warfare; and the crimes against humanity of murder, persecution, and other inhumane acts." In December 2024, **Amnesty International** released 296 pages of evidence concluding that the Israeli government's actions in Gaza constitute a genocide. In December 2024, **Human Rights Watch** and **Doctors Without Borders** also released systematic evidence of genocide and ethnic cleansing.

24 Neier, Aryeh. "Is Israel Committing Genocide?" *The New York Review*, June 6, 2024.

25 Goldberg, Amos. "Yes, It's Genocide". [Hebrew] *Local Call*, April 17, 2024.

Recognition

In a special report Anatomy of Genocide, Francesca Albanese, UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, concluded that Israel was committing acts of genocide. In October 2024, UNHCR released a report that accused the Israeli armed forces of "the crime against humanity of extermination" for killing health workers and targeting health facilities. Israeli policies of genocide, occupation, and starvation in Palestine have been recognized globally by national governments. USAID and the State Department both concluded in April 2024 that Israeli authorities routinely impeded delivery of food and medicine, as have State Department officials who resigned in protest to US complicity. EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Josep Borrell also asserted in March 2024 that “starvation is being used as a war arm” by Israel.

Thirty-four governments joined South Africa’s case against Israeli genocide at the ICJ, as well as the African Union, Arab League, Organization of Islamic Cooperation, and wealthy, democratic allies of the United States such as Spain and Ireland. In July 2024, the ICJ ruled in a landmark advisory opinion that Israel’s ongoing occupation of Palestine is illegal. In September 2024, the U.N. general assembly voted overwhelmingly (194-14) to call on Israel to “withdraw all its military forces from the Occupied Palestinian Territory.” Yes-votes again were not limited to the post-independence states in Asia, Africa, and South America, but came from wealthy, democratic allies of the United States, such as Japan, Iceland, Finland, Norway, France, Ireland, Portugal, and Belgium.

Rally to end MIT complicity in genocide, March 2, 2024.

Nakba and

Settler Colonialism

Work company of Beitar youth (Revisionist Zionists) near Hadera, 1932 © Aleksandrovich Ze'ev
Right-wing Israeli youth run to stop aid trucks entering Gaza, 2024 © Lorenzo Tugnoli | Washington Post

Section 1.2 | Nakba and Settler Colonialism

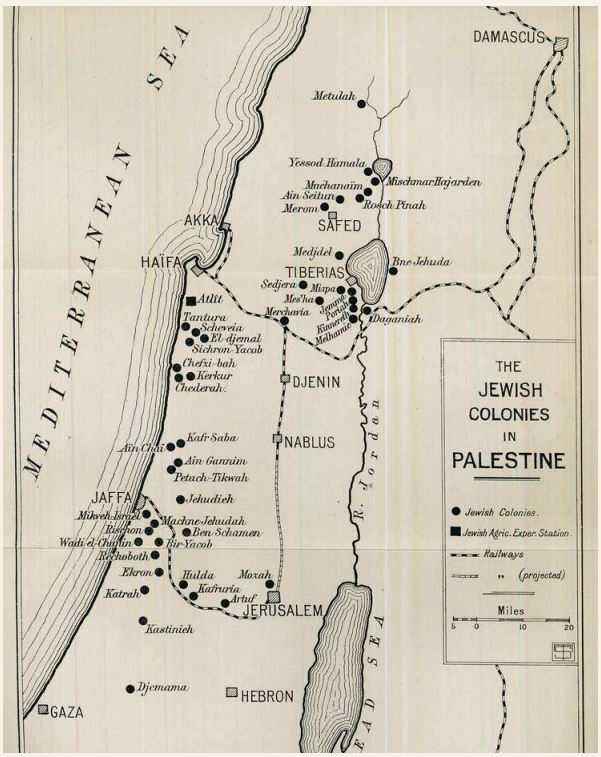
This is a unique colonialism that we've been subjected to where they have no use for us. The best Palestinian for them is either dead or gone. It's not that they want to exploit us, or that they need to keep us there in the way of Algeria or South Africa as a subclass."

Edward Said, *The Pen and the Sword* (1994).

The genocide in Gaza has roots in the political project of modern Zionism, which was dedicated to creating a Jewish national homeland in Ottoman and then British Mandate Palestine. Zionism emerged first as a Christian restorationist project as early as the English Puritans; it gained steam among some European Jews, but not initially those in the Middle East or America as a response to swelling tides of antisemitism in Europe in the late 19th century. It advanced by the lights of a few bourgeois intellectuals (Hess, Herzl, Weizmann, Jabotinsky), under British imperial guarantees, in collaboration with diaspora capital, and inspired by currents of romantic nationalist ideology, particularly in Germany and East-Central Europe.**[26]** Once established, Israel behaved very much like a young settler state would, facilitating the continued in-migration of co-ethnics and adopting an eliminationist policy toward the natives like its older settler state patron, the United States.**[27]**

This political project required territorial conquest and ethnic cleansing. In 1947-8, about 85 percent of Palestine's Christian and Muslim Arabs (approximately 750,000 people) within the borders of the declared state of Israel were expelled as refugees in what is called in Arabic the *Nakba*.**[28]** The few who remained, many in northern cities such as Nazareth and Haifa or the southern Bedouin, lived under military rule until 1966.

1917 Map of "Jewish Colonies in Palestine"



Source: Harry Sacher, *Zionism and the Jewish Future* (1917)

In June 1967, Israel conquered and then occupied the Sinai, Golan Heights, Gaza and the West Bank in what is called the *Naksa*, subjecting large, urbanized populations of Palestinians in the latter two regions to a regime of military rule that has lasted now more than half a century.

26 Halbrook, Stephen. "The Class Origins of Zionist Ideology." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 2, no. 1 (1972): 86–110.

27 See further readings for settler colonial analysis of Zionism, particularly Sayegh (2012), Shafir (1996), Pappe (2006, 2008), Khalidi (2020).

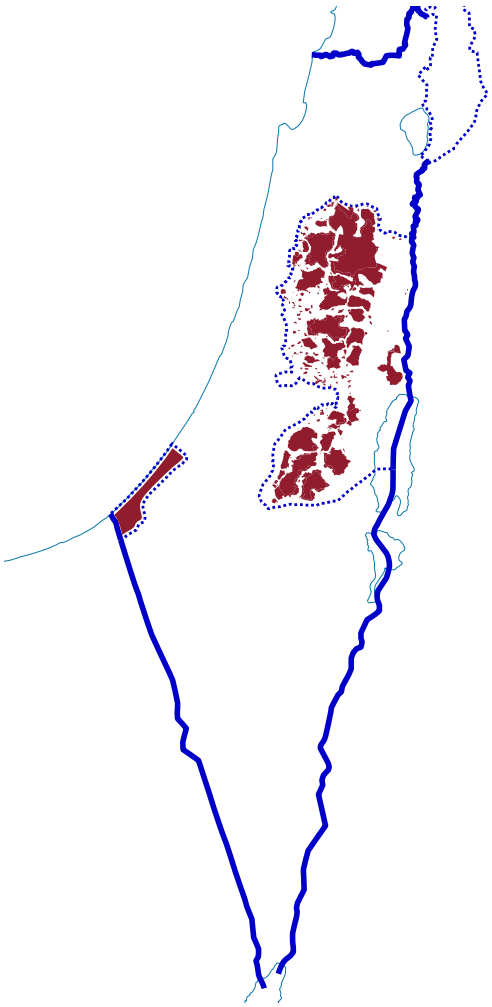
28 For a more capacious understanding of Nakba as a century-long effort of displacement, war, genocide, and fragmentation in Palestine see further readings, especially Eghbariah (2024), Masalha (2012, 2018), Walid Khalidi (1992), Rashid Khalidi (2020), Pappe (2007), Hadawi (1991), and Sa'di and Abu-Lughod (2007).

In 1980, Israel formalized its annexation of East Jerusalem, conferring on Palestinian residents of Jerusalem a special ID status short of full citizenship and national voting rights. In 1981, Israel effectively annexed the Golan. Under the Oslo Accords of the 1990s, Israel outsourced the governance of major Palestinian cities in the occupied territories to the newly created Palestinian National Authority but retained about two-thirds of the land, called Area C, for its own military and settler enterprise. After 2007 and the Gaza disengagement plan, the Israeli military built a separation wall through the West Bank, severing the Palestinian suburbs of east Jerusalem from the city's heart.

Since the 1970s to the present, the Israeli government has also permitted and subsidized the expansion of a violent Jewish settler movement in the occupied territories. From the Gush Emunim settlers of the 1970s to contemporary Knesset parties (Likud, Tkuma, Otzma Yehudit, and Jewish Home), the most influential voices in settler politics embrace an irredentist, theocratic, and far-right vision of Jewish supremacy at any cost. The Israeli parliament has voted overwhelmingly to reject Palestinian statehood in the occupied territories and successive Israeli governments have made clear their intention to hold on to Palestinian territory beyond the Green Line indefinitely.

Palestinians defending themselves against settlers in Nablus, 2021
© Sakir Khader | Magnum Photos

Gaza and Areas A and B of West Bank



As with many settler-colonial projects, the Zionist settler project, which began even before 1948, required not just genocide and mass ethnic cleansing, but also the absorption of the native population into a passivized minority. This process, what Elia Zureik (1979) calls *internal colonialism*, manifests as apartheid within the Palestinian territories occupied since 1948 and 1967. The Rome Statute defines apartheid as a crime against humanity, specifically "Inhumane acts…committed in the context of an institutionalized regime of systematic oppression and domination by one racial group over any other racial group or groups and committed with the intention of maintaining that regime." This structure is propagated by the settler-colony to control Palestinians on both sides of the Green Line.

The Israeli apartheid regime operates under a tiered system. On **Tier 1**, Jewish citizens of Israel are granted full civil and property rights, including the ability to seize land in territories occupied in 1967 as well as buy land from the Jewish National Fund, which controls 13% of the land occupied in the 1948. On **Tier 2**, Palestinian citizens of Israel are barred from buying land from this fund, prohibiting land ownership in over 900 localities. They cannot obtain citizenship rights for family members both inside the 1967 occupied territories and abroad, and often face retributive violence during protest, such as on the Land Day of 1976, when hundreds of Palestinians were injured and 6 killed by the occupation forces while protesting the confiscation of 20,000 dunams of land in the Galilee. These two million citizens live under increased state surveillance, many in communities suffering under organized abandon and planned 'Judaization.'

Tier 3 is composed of Palestinian Bedouin communities unrecognized by the occupier but which have existed longer than the Zionist movement itself. These Palestinians are denied access to electricity, water grids, sanitation and public transport; and face routine home demolitions – in May 2024, for example, Israeli forces demolished 47 homes in Wadi al-Khalil, displacing over 300 Palestinian Bedouins. **Tier 4** contains Palestinians living in Jerusalem, or al-Quds, who are officially denied voting rights and citizenship, and in practice are denied building permits with a 93% rejection rate. This policy forces Palestinians to build and renovate homes without permits, rendering 85% of their homes in al-Quds illegal under settler-apartheid law. Palestinian families also face sudden expulsions under the "Absentees' Property Law" which allows Jews to seize Palestinian properties, such as in Sheikh Jarrah in 2021, spurring the Unity Intifada. Palestinians have no legal recourse equivalent to the Absentees' Property Law.

Palestinians Climb Separation Wall to Pray in Jerusalem

© Hisham Abu Shaqrah, Ramadan 2023

Tiers 5, **6**, and **7** correspond to Palestinians in Areas A, B, and C of the West Bank, which are under Israeli military occupation and the neocolonial governance of a Bantustan-like Palestinian Authority, which subcontracts for the occupation authorities. Palestinians in these tiers face even more severe restrictions on freedoms of movement, speech, assembly, religion, and residence; they are surveilled by checkpoints, drones, and watchtowers; they are subject to Israeli military law while Jewish settlers are granted Israeli civil law; and their communities are split and ghettoized by "Israeli-only" access roads. Tier **8** corresponds to Palestinians in the Gaza Strip, who have been subject to Israeli attacks and occupation since 1948, including Israeli-led blockade of their borders, sea, and airspace.

The reality of Israeli apartheid is established by human rights groups in Palestine such as Al-Haq, Badil, Amnesty International, and Human Rights Watch. We mention the realities of apartheid to capture further dimensions of Palestinian experience under internal colonialism, which is an extension of Zionist settler project and a perpetuation of the ethnic cleansing and genocide begun during the Nakba of 1948.

A family in Gaza cleaning vegetables, circa 1940s-1970s. © Kegham Djeghalian

The October 7th attacks, the ensuing war on Gaza and its expansion into Lebanon thus exist in a colonial context. Societies like Israel's do not descend into fascist revelry overnight nor can armed resistance groups like Hamas recruit easily from oppressed peoples without the exhaustion of other alternatives – moral appeals, legal activism, labor strikes, civil disobedience, mass protest, and diplomatic negotiation. The context for the war on Gaza is 75 years of apartheid and more than a century of settler colonialism. It is also 56 years of military occupation and settlement in the West Bank and a 16-year blockade of the Gaza Strip. **Palestinians have the right to resist this occupation with force of arms under Protocol I of the Geneva Conventions.** This point is not a biased opinion or radical chic; it is an analytic necessity to understand what Tareq Baconi calls the "violent equilibrium" in Palestine today.**[29]**

The Gaza Strip itself had to be created through organized violence. The Palestinian towns along the Mediterranean coastal plain – Gaza, Rafah, Khan Younis, and Deir al-Balah – are old and have a rich history. However more than 67% of Gaza's population as of May 2023 were refugees centered around 8 UNRWA refugee camps and descendants of those Palestinians expelled by Zionist authorities in the ethnic cleansing campaigns of 1947-1948, or the Nakba. Among the first barriers demarcating the border of Gaza was a fence erected by Ariel Sharon in 1971 to constrain the Palestinian population and punish attacks by the fedayeen agitating for return. The fence paved the way for plans to 'Judaize' the enclave according to the Jewish Agency's Eshkol Plan. Israeli attempts to depopulate Gaza are old. They include plans during the 1956 invasion of Gaza to buy land from Italian settlers in Libya and exile Palestinians there. During the invasion, the Israeli army also committed massacres in coordination with the British and French.

29 See Baconi, Tareq. 2018. *Hamas Contained: The Rise and Pacification of Palestinian Resistance.* Stanford University Press.

In 1994, prime minister Yitzhak Rabin replaced the simple fence with a high-security barrier of cameras, sensors, and "high-tech entry and exit points" as part of a new policy of separation or hafrada between the populations. In 2005, the Israeli government forcibly evacuated its own settlers from Gaza, with the stated aim of "freezing the peace process." In the words of Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's senior adviser, "when you freeze that process, you prevent the establishment of a Palestinian state, and you prevent a discussion on the refugees, the borders and Jerusalem." Or in the words of prime minister Ehud Olmert, the goal of the disengagement was to prevent changing "the essence of the conflict from an Algerian paradigm to a South African one. From a struggle against 'occupation,' in their parlance, to a struggle for one-man-one-vote."**[30]**

The decades since 2005 have been patterned by asymmetric, devastating wars in Gaza (2008, 2012, 2014, 2021), where the Palestinian Hamas leads organized armed resistance to Israeli rule. The blockade and Israeli bombing campaigns have left Gaza increasingly impoverished and unlivable. Since the early 2000s, Israel created a security architecture that would allow it to divide and conquer the territories occupied in 1967 and prevent the emergence of a Palestinian state. The implicit wager of Israel's right-wing rulers was that the cost of these wars would be small enough to be ignored by the Israeli public and that the Palestinians, entombed behind concrete and fences, could be ignored forever.

These wars are appraised by Israel's international patrons and the Western media according to a typical colonial double standard: that any Palestinian violence is the sui generis act of a savage, not that of a constrained political actor operating in the Manichean divisions of the settler-colony. In this colonial framing, no Israeli violence ever justifies any Palestinian violence, and Zionists have an iron-clad right to self-defense, but Palestinians have none.

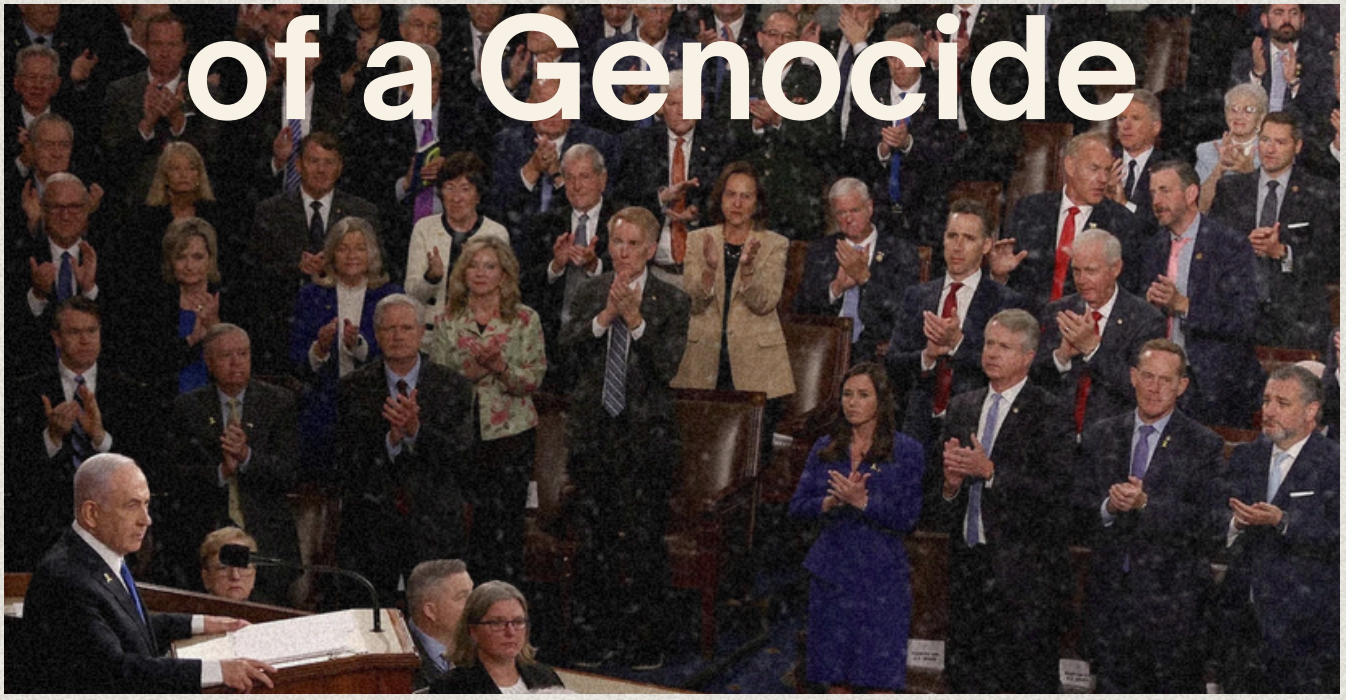
This was the status on the eve of the Al-Aqsa Flood attack of October 7 that killed several hundred Israeli civilians and a few hundred soldiers. By October 6, the year had already been the deadliest year for Palestinian children.**[31]** It included religious Zionist advances on Al-Aqsa in Jerusalem, the settler pogrom in Huwara, and record demolitions, property seizures, and detentions without trial in the West Bank. For an increasingly reactionary Israeli society, a resolution to the "Palestinian problem" was no longer a kitchen table topic. A militarized wall entombed Gaza, suffocating life within it.

The security establishment believed Hamas to have been beaten into submission by 16 years of blockade by land, air and sea, along with routine bombings and massacres to "mow the lawn." Walls, checkpoints, and Jewish-only access roads pushed the Palestinians from the settlers' view while gradual annexation of the occupied territory trundled along without any real consequences from Israel's patrons. The U.S. under presidents Donald Trump and Joseph Biden had acquiesced to recognizing annexed Jerusalem as Israel's capital while Arab League states like Saudi Arabia were on the cusp of abandoning the Arab Peace Initiative in favor of normalization with the apartheid state.

30 Landau, David. "'Maximum Jews, Minimum Palestinians.'" *Haaretz*, November 13, 2003.

31 Muaddi, Qassam. "'2023 Is 'Deadliest Year' for Palestinian Children, Say Human Rights Groups.'" *The New Arab*, October 6, 2023.

Political Economy of a Genocide



Israeli air strikes hit the Palestine Tower building in Gaza, October 2023 © Mahmud Hams | AFP
Standing ovation by US Congress for Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu, July 2024 © Justin Sullivan | Getty Images

Section 1.3 Political Economy of a Genocide

At first glance, the genocide in Gaza may appear to be waged primarily by the Likud ruling coalition, without direct involvement from the United States or educational institutions like MIT.[32] Israeli troops are overwhelmingly Israeli citizens. The Israelis have a developed military industrial base (firms like Elbit Systems, Taas, IAI, and Rafael), and deep Israeli capital markets allow the ruling coalition to finance most of its violent designs locally: For 2024, about 70% of the $60 billion that the state issued in debts were sold on domestic Israeli markets and denominated in the New Israeli Shekel (NIS). Due to high demand from local banks, the coalition government is in no danger of default and is spared having to pay high interest rates on these local debts. Its central bank can offer bonds competitive to the T-bills issued by the US Treasury. Foreign currency reserves held at the Bank of Israel reached $200 billion in January 2024, further stabilizing the macro-economic picture of the war economy. Israel's largest trading zone partner is not the United States but the European Union, and external allies like India and Nepal are willing suppliers of reserve armies of labor to replace Palestinians.

The reality is that **inflicting violence of genocidal proportions requires volumes of munitions far beyond what the Israeli industrial base has the capacity to produce locally.** Moreover, Israel cannot destroy Gaza and Lebanon with impunity without substantial diplomatic and military cover provided by a superpower like the United States, nor can it provision for itself financially without substantial American investment and technology. Thus **the Israeli state's ability to wage war on Palestine with impunity emanates from the support it enjoys from a constellation of American public and private actors.** The roots of this American support are many but include numerically significant Christian and Jewish voter publics who believe in Zionist ideology, substantially deregulated campaign finance rules, a powerful pro-Israel lobby (CUFI, AIPAC, ALEC etc), measurable pro-Israel bias in the media, and a counter-majoritarian electoral geography and institutional terrain that gives significant veto power to Israel supporters and tilts the party system toward the interests of wealthier, whiter, older, and more rural constituencies.[33]

Israeli tank overlooks sea at Al-Shati refugee camp in the northern Gaza Strip, November 16, 2023 © Yonatan Sindel | Flash90.

32 This section is adapted with permission from Colin Powers, "Wages of Genocide: Prospects for Israel's War Economy." *Noira Research* June 3, 2024.

33 See Miller (2023), Pappe (2024), Mearsheimer and Waltz (2007), Oklobdzija (2023), Rynhold (2023), Chomsky (2015), Herman and Chomsky (1988), Dunsky (2008), and Jackson (2023) in further readings.

US Federal Government and Military

Federal government flows into the state of Israel are substantial. In the past year, the US spent $22.76 billion on military aid, financing roughly 70% of Israel's war costs[34]. In relative terms, the standard annual grant sent to Israel from the US' Foreign Military Financing (FMF) program—$3.3 billion a year since the Obama administration—typically covers 15% of Israel's defense expenditures. These grants are paid for by US taxpayer revenue or by sovereign debts to eventually be paid by US taxpayers. With Israel's war expenditures budgeted to increase by nearly $15 billion in 2024, this grant line from the US federal government was dramatically increased. The National Security Act of 2024, signed into law in April, directed a full $13 billion into Israel's interest-bearing account at the Federal Reserve. Of this sum, $5.2 billion was earmarked for replenishing the Iron Dome, Iron Beam, and David's Sling missile systems, $4.4 billion for restocking depleted munitions stocks, and $3.5 billion for advanced weapons systems. **To put in perspective, Israel is by far the largest cumulative recipient of US aid in the world, which is given on the most generous terms in the world.**[35] The US weapons stockpile in Israel, WRSA-I, is the largest overseas American stockpile of its kind in the world.

These expenditures accompany significant mobilization of US military and diplomatic assets to abet the Gaza Genocide. The Pentagon repeatedly deploys aircraft carriers, nuclear powered submarines, fighter jet fleet, and naval destroyers to the eastern Mediterranean to protect Israel as it destroys Gaza.[36]

Five hundred US military transport planes and 107 ships have delivered more than 50,000 tons of armaments and military equipment to Israel in the first 10 months of the war, averaging almost two arms shipments a day.[37] The US military uses its own THAAD missile interceptors to insulate Israel from regional attacks which could deter Israeli aggression. US special forces, logistics officers, advisors, spies, and CIA-trained mercenaries help Israeli combat operations. US diplomats repeatedly veto United Nations Security Council (UNSC) resolutions that demand a ceasefire, attempt to get UN officials fired for documenting Israeli crimes, lie to Congress about Israeli starvation policies[38], and undermine efforts by international bodies like the International Criminal Court to hold the Netanyahu government accountable.[39]

Arms Trade

Without the relentless flow of artillery shells, missiles, and warheads provided by the US and Germany, the current campaigns on Gaza and Southern Lebanon would grind swiftly to a halt. The weapons used to kill Palestinians in Gaza are U.S. weapons: American M16 machine guns, American MK84 and MK82 bombs, American F-16 fighter jets, American hellfire missiles, American drones, American white phosphorus, and American tank artillery and mortar shells. They are sold at profit by American weapon companies such as Boeing, Lockheed Martin, and General Dynamics and purchased with the help of US military financing grants.

34 Linda J. Bilmes et al. "United States Spending on Israel's Military Operations, October 7, 2023 – September 30, 2024." *Costs of War Project* at Brown University, October 7, 2024.

35 Jonathan Masters and Will Merrow. "U.S. Aid to Israel in Four Charts." *Council on Foreign Relations*, November 13, 2024.

36 Schmitt, Eric. "Trying to Head Off War, U.S. Moves Naval Forces Closer to Israel." *The New York Times*, August 25, 2024.

37 Emanuel Fabian and ToI Staff. "Israel Says US Shipments of Arms and Equipment During War Exceed 50,000 Tons." *The Times of Israel*, August 26, 2024.

38 Murphy, Brett. "Israel Deliberately Blocked Humanitarian Aid to Gaza, Two Government Bodies Concluded. Antony Blinken Rejected Them." *ProPublica*, September 24, 2024.

39 Wong, Edward. "Blinken Meets With el-Sisi in Egypt to Discuss Plight of Palestinians in Gaza." *The New York Times*, January 11, 2024.

Many of these advanced missile and weapons systems are not interoperable with Russian or Chinese substitutes, requiring specific American parts to function. Google Cloud, Amazon Web Services, and Microsoft Azure also provide Israeli forces and intelligence with cloud computing, machine learning, and artificial intelligence services. Without these cloud services and alleged WhatsApp data sharing, Israel's AI-led mass assassination programs Lavender and Gospel would run aground.

With substantial American labor and parts, Israel also manufactures its own weapons and surveillance systems, which are then tested and perfected in the 'laboratory' of the occupied Palestinian territories.[40] These products, such as NSO's Pegasus surveillance technology or Elbit's assassin drones are sold abroad to over 130 countries, generating revenue and foreign exchange.[41] For instance, Israel supplied nearly 70% of Azerbaijan's arsenal between 2016 and 2020 and quietly helped Baku depopulate Nagorno Karabakh of Armenian Christians in September 2023. In return, Azerbaijan supplies at least 40% of Israel's oil needs. India is Israel's biggest and most dependable purchaser of weapons, which New Delhi uses in the ongoing occupation of Kashmir.[42] Israel has also sold weapons to the junta in Myanmar during and after the Rohingya genocide as well as autocratic Bangladesh and Russia. Israeli companies like Black Cube also operate globally, helping oligarchs and rich people to defeat white collar crime cases against them.[43] These contracts generate revenue for the Israeli state apparatus and employment for former intelligence officers.

State and Local Government

The US federal government is not alone in injecting financing into the client state's coffers. State, county, and even municipal governments across the United States also open up the checkbook for Israel. This financing channel is overseen by the Development Corporation for Israel, a US-registered entity that acts as the local broker and underwriter for Israel's Ministry of Finance. The Development Corporation for Israel has, since 1951, issued what are called "Israel Bonds" within the US market. These debt instruments, which are denominated in US Dollars and designated to provide general budget support, typically represent 12-15% of Israel's total external debt. As such, they constitute a substantial source of credit and hard currency for the apartheid state. Swayed by special interests and institutional capture, local public institutions are investing significant sums in Israel's geno-cidal ventures, now and into the future.

Arms Embargo Protest at Massachusetts State House, August 2024.

40 See Antony Loewenstein, *The Palestine Laboratory*. 2023. Verso.

41 Freedman, Avidan. "How Israel's Supreme Court Rubber Stamps Arms Deals to Dictators." *Haaretz*, July 16, 2023.

42 Essa, Azad. "India and Israel: The Arms Trade in Charts and Numbers." *Middle East Eye*, May 31, 2022.

43 For instance, Harvey Weinstein commissioned Black Cube to discredit and surveil the women he raped.

Since October 7, 2023, the Development Corporation of Israel has scaled up the sale of Israel Bonds considerably, in part by deepening its partnerships with a right-wing lobby organization called the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC). For the past two decades, ALEC has been an influential behind-the-scenes force in American politics. Typically it authors draft laws on topics from abortion to the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement and then disseminates the legislative templates to allies in state houses of government, where they are passed into law. Rallying to the cause of Israel this fall, ALEC diversified its operations by mobilizing its State Financial Officers Foundation to drive public pension funds and state and municipal treasury departments into purchasing Israel Bonds. The fruits of these labors are staggering: $1.7 billion in bond purchases in just six months.[44]

Many local and state police departments in the US also spend untold amounts of US taxpayer money on Israel.[45] Thousands of police officers, from at least 12 states including Massachusetts and major metropolitan areas (including Boston, Cambridge, New York, and Atlanta PD) have all traveled to Israel for training. In Israel, American police receive instruction on mass surveillance, racial profiling, and the suppression of protests and dissent.[46] In the words of former IDF soldier Eran Efrati, US police delegates witness "live demonstrations of repressive violence in real-time, in protests across the West Bank, patrols in East Jerusalem, and visits to the Gaza border."[47]

Since 2002, the Anti-Defamation League, the American Jewish Committee's Project Interchange and the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs have paid for police chiefs to train in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories. **Such visitors include MIT police chief John Difava.** American police departments, along with the CIA, FBI, and ICE also purchase surveillance products from the Israeli weapons industry and exchange intelligence on activists.

Private Capital and Tech

Israel's war on Gaza and the maintenance of the apartheid economy rely on extensive support from American private capital. Tel Aviv's venture capital investors raise virtually all their funding (75-80%) on the capital markets of the United States.[48] In the immediate aftermath of the invasion of Gaza, American banks also arranged private bond sales on the behalf of the Israeli state, the yields of which are not publicly disclosed. In March 2024, Bank of America and Goldman Sachs along with Deutsche Bank and BNP Paribas acted as underwriters for Israel's first international bond sale after October 7th. These financiers encouraged levels of investor demand from around the world sufficient to make the bond sale the largest in Israeli history: $8 billion worth of Eurobonds sold in a single day.

44 Munira Lokhandwala and Molly Gott. "U.S. State and Local Treasuries Hold At Least $1.6 Billion in Israel Bonds." Little Sis Public Accountability Initiative, February 5, 2024.

45 "Deadly Exchange: The Dangerous Consequences of American Law Enforcement Trainings in Israel." *Researching the American-Israeli Alliance and Jewish Voice for Peace*, September 2018.

46 Garwood, Edith. "With Whom Are Many U.S. Police Departments Training? With a Chronic Human Rights Violator – Israel." *Amnesty International,* August 25, 2016.

47 Gadzo, Mersiha. "How the US and Israel Exchange Tactics in Violence and Control." *Al Jazeera*, June 12, 2020.

48 Israel Innovation Authority, "State of the High-Tech Industry in Israel 2023", Annual Report (June 2023).

American technology firms put significant capital into Israel amidst the state's engagement in genocide. Across the past year, Nvidia, the Santa Clara-based global leader in chips production and artificial intelligence computing, has plowed big money into acquisitions of Israeli firms. In December, blessed by a massive $3.2 billion grant and heavily reduced tax rate (7.5% instead of 23%), Intel, the largest private employer in Israel, agreed to construct a new plant for semiconductors. A month later, Palantir Technologies, the software-service firm founded by right-wing billionaires Peter Thiel and Alex Karp, announced a new strategic AI partnership with Israel's Defense Ministry to "harness Palantir's advanced technology in support of war-related missions." Google and Amazon similarly provide Israeli forces with the capacity to store, process and analyze data, including facial recognition, emotion recognition, biometrics and demographic data in what is known as Project Nimbus.

The Israeli state and economy also receive significant support from US philanthropic foundations, which are supported and encouraged by US tax law. Israel continues to receive upwards of $3 billion every year from overseas donors. The majority of that philanthropy is American.**[49]** Some of these funds are funneled into pro-settler Israeli NGOs like Regavim and Amana – transfers which the US Treasury department allows despite British and Canadian sanctions. Real estate sales of the occupied Palestinian territories are sometimes held in tax-exempt US synagogues and churches. Non-profits which support illegal Israeli settlements in the West Bank and occupied East Jerusalem enjoy 501(c)(3) tax-exempt status in the United States, and US taxpayers can use their donations to such groups as a tax write-off.

These include the Jewish Agency, Jewish National Fund, HaYovel, AIEF, Friends of the IDF, and Ne'eman Foundation. Charities and campus groups such as Hillel, Birthright, StandWithUs, and Chabad engage in explicit settler and IDF advocacy at the behest of the Israeli government.**[50]** Without this philanthropic ecosystem, the apartheid state would face significantly more pressure.

Role of Universities

Universities have an important role in ending US support for Israel and consequently Israeli apartheid itself. Total capitalization of US university endowments was about $840 billion in FY2023, making them significant institutional investors in the capitalist economy. Relative to the size of its national population, Israel sends a larger proportion of its academic researchers to the United States than any other country**[51]**, and the Israeli government and academic institutions enjoy deep and prestigious collaborations with American universities**[52]**. Universities are also respected and unique organizations. In Eaton and Stevens' (2020) terms, they are *positionally-central* to the institutional order of modern societies providing "working links between state, market, civil society, and private-sphere organizations" as well as *quasi-sovereign*, enjoying a margin of jurisdiction over their own internal affairs. US universities have used that quasi-sovereignty to profit from genocide and collaborate with the Israeli government itself.

49 See Fleisch, Eric. 2024. *Checkbook Zionism: Philanthropy and Power in the Israel-Diaspora Relationship.* Rutgers University Press.

50 Lee Fang and Jack Poulson. "Israeli documents show expansive government effort to shape US discourse around Gaza war," *The Guardian*, 24 June 2024.

51 Dattel, Lior. "Israel Is No. 1 Exporter of Academic Talent to the U.S., Data Shows," *Haaretz*, January 28, 2019.

52 See Wind, Maya. 2024. *Towers of Ivory and Steel: How Israeli Universities Deny Palestinian Freedom.* Verso Books.

This is an institutional choice and can be reversed. In Ireland, Spain, Belgium, Finland and Norway, some universities have already committed to divesting from Israeli occupation. On May 9, 2024 the Conference of University Rectors in Spain (CRUE) representing 76 public and private universities in Spain announced their intention to "suspend collaboration agreements with Israeli universities and research centres that have not expressed a firm commitment to peace and compliance with international humanitarian law" as well as its intention to "strengthen cooperation with the Palestinian scientific and higher education system."

In Norway, five universities suspended ties with Israeli universities by February 2024, as did Finland's flagship University of Helsinki. On May 8, Ireland's Trinity College Dublin reached an agreement with students to "complete a divestment from Israeli companies that have activities in the Occupied Palestinian Territory" and establish a Sanctuary Fund for Gaza scholars. These commitments are not limited to Europe; Union Theological Seminary and Evergreen State College in the US have also announced decisions to support Palestinian life.

Yet as exemplified by MIT, most American institutions of higher education are complicit in a regime of Israeli apartheid despite hypocritically espousing public commitments to equality, scientific ethics, critical thought, and human flourishing. These contradictions can be challenged by students who do not enjoy such unique leverage in other realms. The struggle against oppressive regimes is a struggle against their popular legitimacy as well as their material capabilities. Students, as a young and educated strata, send an important signal to the world about what counts as tolerable.

For instance, in May 1970, MIT activists pushed the Institute to acknowledge serious concerns about its complicity in atrocities committed by US forces in Vietnam and divested from its own special research center, the Charles Stark Draper Laboratory, which worked on guidance systems for the Poseidon missile.**[53]** American student movements in the 1980s were critical in the divestment campaigns against South African apartheid and generated political will for sanctions. By 1984, 53 universities had partially divested from apartheid, two years before Congress voted to override president Ronald Reagan's veto and pass the 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.

Student activists have rebelled against injustices before; they were at the heart of opposition to the Vietnam, Iraq, and Afghanistan wars, Jim Crow, and fossil fuel capital. By acting in concert to stand in solidarity with Palestinians steadfast against apartheid and settler colonialism, students can become first movers in the national context, sending a message that Zionism has lost a generation. Over the past 20 years, students have challenged policymakers who "arrived belatedly to stances on economic inequality, climate change, drug policy and criminal justice that putative radicals on campus took up long before them."**[54]** By notching wins against MIT and other institutions, students can thus trigger a cascade of similar institutional decisions that work to isolate and paralyze the Israeli apartheid regime. As Eqbal Ahmed once said, "the primary task of revolutionary struggle is to achieve the moral isolation of the adversary in its own eyes and in the eyes of the world." Or in the words of former MIT student activist Mike Albert in 1969: "For us at MIT, the task is clear. We must raise the price of war until its masters end it."

53 Hevesi, Dennis "Howard W. Johnson, President of M.I.T. During Vietnam War Protests, Dies at 88." *The New York Times*, December 18, 2009.

54 Nwanevu, Osita "US Students, Once Again, Have Led the Way. Now We Must All Stand Up for Palestinians," *The Guardian*, May 13, 2024.

Section 2:

MIT Science Research for Genocide

MIT's Science Research for Genocide

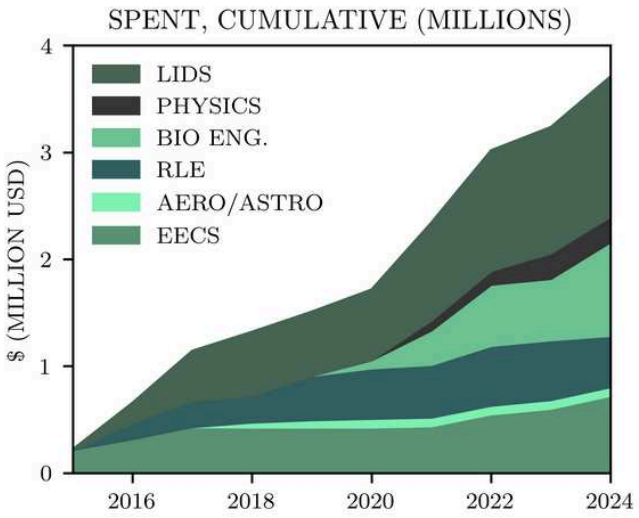
Israeli airstrikes hitting Gaza City, October 8, 2023 (credit: Fatima Shbair | AP Photo)

The Ministry of Defense of Israel (sponsor ID #001134) has sponsored over $3.7 million on MIT research projects since 2015.[55] However, sponsorship goes back at least as far as 2008. The amount of money is small – allocated IMoD sponsorship constitutes only 0.05% of MIT's 2024 research sponsorship. In each of the currently sponsored labs, these grants comprise on average only 2% of the total budget, which includes other sources of funding for many nearly identical projects. **This is a matter of MIT's principles; Israel is the only foreign military to sponsor MIT research.**[56]

These funds support projects with military applications. Some projects create algor-ithms ideal for teaching small unmanned vehicles, including drones, to pursue targets with increased autonomy. Others improve underwater surveillance or help military aircraft evade and detect missiles. Implicated MIT labs include the Laboratory for Information & Decision Systems (LIDS), Computer Science and Artificial Intelligence Laboratory (CSAIL) and Research Laboratory of Electronics (RLE).

55 For a spreadsheet summary of MIT's research sponsorship by the IMOD, see tinyurl.com/mit-imod-sponsorship.

56 The only other sponsors that may be construed as foreign militaries are Singapore's DSO National Laboratories (sponsor ID #005831) and Singapore's Defense Science & Technology Agency (sponsor ID #001100) and Australia's DoD Defence Science and Technology Group. However all three are technically private companies, whose work primarily supports Singaporean and Australian military, respectively.



2.1: How MIT Research Sponsorship Works

Sponsored research at MIT is research sponsored, or funded, by an external organization. It is typically conducted by MIT faculty and principal investigators (PIs) in their laboratories and research groups. It comes in three different types: federal grants, federal contracts, and non-federal agreements. Through sponsorship, foreign entities such as the Israeli Ministry of Defense (IMoD) have the stated right to "shape direction and objectives" of research as well as "rights to use the research outcomes." Non-federal agreements and federal grants are the categories which include IMoD-sponsored research. MIT laboratories enter into a non-federal agreement with industry, foreign agencies or ministries such as the IMoD, and other non-profit research institutions. Funds are used to provide equipment and computational resources for active projects as well as travel budget and income for researchers such as post-docs, grad workers, or PIs.

Research projects share complex, overlapping networks of funding, and a project may involve multiple military-related agencies. For example, MIT research on Quantum Fiber Magnetometry, housed in MIT's Research Laboratory of Electronics (RLE) is sponsored by US air force, US army, and National Science Foundation as well as the IMoD. These funding sources are inconsistently acknowledged in research project publications or outputs. For that reason, the MIT Grads for Palestine research team first gathered information on IMoD projects in fall of 2023 from Kuali Coeus, an internal cradle-to-grave award management system available to MIT affiliates which tracks information of research sponsorship. However, general access to this was limited after the Coalition Against Apartheid (CAA) published these findings.

Information about IMoD-supported can also be found in MIT's 'Brown Books' appendices, which are available FY2015-2023 and provide the sponsor, project IDs, names of PIs, total authorized amount, and total spent amount for projects in the given year. Further back in time are the Uniform Guidance Audit Reports (A-133) for FY 2006-2022, which are available to the public. In these files, the Ministry of Defense of Israel (sponsor ID #001134) is generally listed as a direct sponsor or simply "sponsor" with the US Department of Defense (DoD) or the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) being listed as the primary or prime sponsor. For principal investigators Paul Lagace and David Simchi-Levi, IMoD is listed as both direct and primary sponsor. As defined in the glossary of terms from the 2023 Brown Book, the primary/prime sponsor is the "original entity that provides funds for a sponsored research" while the direct sponsor is synonymous in some Institute files as the proximate, 'pass-through entity.'

> In other words, MIT projects receive an award from the Ministry of Defense of Israel (direct sponsor) which itself is funded by the Department of Defense (primary sponsor).

This circularity highlights how US federal funding to the Israeli government routes back to MIT for the ultimate benefit of the Israeli occupation. The US Department of Defense provides the Israeli government with foreign military financing grants and underwrites its sponsorships at US universities such as MIT. For its part, the Israeli ministry picks which projects to sponsor, or uses DoD funds to support Israeli post-doctoral fellows in joining MIT laboratories for specific projects of interest to their military research objectives. The funds still come most immediately from the Israeli government as the direct sponsor. In Kuali Coeus, the IMoD is listed as the sponsor name for these projects, as opposed to the Department of Defense, and the corresponding sponsor type is listed as "Foreign Federal Government." The IMoD then benefits from access to the research output as a sponsor.

It may be possible for MIT or the Department of Defense to reschedule the funding channel under a different Israeli government ministry such as the Ministry of Energy. However, this would evade the problem of accountability. It would still contribute to elevating the reputation of the Israeli government.

MIT in 2019 for example publicly apologized for elevating the reputation of child sex abuser Jeffrey Epstein when its faculty and labs accepted donations from Epstein. MIT's research ties with the Israeli government similarly contribute to elevating the latter's reputation despite its ongoing crimes against humanity. MIT currently places projects funded by people or entities in Saudi Arabia, China, and Russia under an elevated risk-review, in part due to concerns that such projects could "indirectly legitimize violations of political, human, or civil rights in that country" or "will be used in ways that would infringe on political, human, or civil rights in a foreign country." Why should MIT engage in research sponsorships with the Israeli government at all given the scale of its human rights abuses in Palestine?

2.2: Israeli Military Funding By Lab

The following table provides a breakdown of the IMoD funding spent and allocated by principal investigator (PI), department, and project.

Principal Investigator	Department	Project title	Total Expenditure (2015-2024)
Qing Hu	EECS, RLE	Terahertz Quantum-Cascade Lasers and Imaging	$ 430,000
Sertac Karaman	LIDS	Planning and Sensing Algorithms for Underwater Persistent Monitoring	$ 299,700
Yoel Fink	RLE	Novel multimaterial fiber system for magnetic wave detection	$ 430,355
Yoel Fink	RLE	Multifunctional Fiber System for Magnetic Wave Sensing	$ (16,731)
Emilio Frazzoli	LIDS	Rapidly Exploring Random Trees for Pursuit-Evasion Games	$ 359,667
Paul A Lagace	Aero/Astro	[No Acknowledgment]	$ 80,571
Sertac Karaman	LIDS	Heterogenoeous Multi-Agent Systems for Maritime Applications	$ 241,424
Christopher A. Voigt	BE	Effects of Oxidizing Environments on Carbon-Based Materials	$ 786,998
Christopher A. Voigt	BE	Field-Capable Bacterial Biosensors With	$ 89,447
Sertac Karaman	LIDS	Planning and Control Algorithms for Autonomous Underwater Docking using Sparse Graphs and Compressed Computation	$ 269,543
Daniela Rus	EECS	Coreset Compression Algorithms	$ 296,546
William D Oliver	Physics, RLE, EECS	High-Fidelity Qubits and Readout: A proposed Collaboration between MIT and HUJI0	$ 239,806
Eytan Modiano	LIDS	Autonomous Robotic Swarms: Distributed Coordination and Perception	$ 137,147

As an example, the entries from 2024 are listed in the following table with more detailed information. As seen, only part of the cumulative budget for these projects (indicated in the "Auth Total" column), currently standing at $2.2 million, is spent each year, with expenditures listed in the "FYTD amount" column:

Table 2: IMOD Research Sponsorship in 2024

Primary Sponsor	Direct Sponsors	Supervisor	Project WBS	Project Wbs Expiration	Fytd Amount	Auth Total	Unexpended Balance	WBS Project Name	Department
000190 Department of Defense - Miscellaneous	001134 Ministry of Defense of Israel	Fink /Yoel	11/16/18	06/30/20	$ (89,462.00)	$ 150,000.00	$ -	Multifunctional Fiber System for Magnetic Wave Sensing.	RLE
		Karaman /Sertac	02/01/20	01/31/23	$ 31,610.00	$ 241,424.00	$ -	Heterogeneous Multi-Agent Systems for Maritime Applications	LIDS
		Voigt /Christopher A.	02/01/20	03/31/24	$ (76,396.00)	$ 500,000.00	$ -	Effects of Oxidizing Environments on Carbon-Based Materials	BE
		Voigt /Christopher A.	04/01/22	03/31/24	$ 289,909.00	$ 290,000.00	$ -	Effects of Oxidizing Environments on Carbon-Based Materials	BE
		Voigt /Christopher A.	01/01/24	03/31/25	$ 89,447.00	$ -	$ (89,447.00)	Field-Capable Bacterial Biosensors With	BE

Table 2: IMOD Research Sponsorship in 2024 (continued)

Primary Sponsor	Direct Sponsors	Supervisor	Project WBS	Project Wbs Expiration	Fytd Amount	Auth Total	Unexpended Balance	WBS Project Name	Department
000191 DOD - Miscellaneous - Non Pool	001134 Ministry of Defense of Israel	Rus /Daniela L	07/27/20	12/01/24	$ 121,072.00	$ 425,000.00	$ 128,454.00	Coreset Compression Algorithms	EECS
		Karaman /Sertac	02/01/21	01/31/23	$ 16,782.00	$ 169,543.00	$ -	Planning and Control Algorithms for Autonomous Underwater Docking using Sparse Graphs and Compressed Computation	LIDS
		Fink /Yoel	07/01/19	12/31/21	$ 9,501.00	$ 81,437.00	$ -	Novel Multimaterial Fiber System for Magnetic Wave Detection	RLE
		Modiano /Eytan H	01/16/22	06/30/25	$ 82,035.00	$ 240,000.00	$ 102,853.00	Autonomous Robotic Swarms: Distributed Coordination and Perception	LIDS
		Oliver /William D	02/01/22	01/31/23	$ 107.00	$ 119,806.00	$ -	High-Fidelity Qubits and Readout: A proposed Collaboration between MIT and HUJI	Physics, RLE, EECS

The 10 implicated PIs are distributed across six departments: Electrical Engineering and Computer Science, Physics, Aeronautics and Astronautics, Biological Engineering, Materials Science and Engineering (DMSE), and Civil and Environmental Engineering. The laboratories and centers include the Research Laboratory of Electronics (RLE), Laboratory for Information & Decision Systems (LIDS), and Computer Science and Artificial Intelligence Laboratory (CSAIL).

Section 2.3: Who Benefits?

These projects have obvious military applications. LIDS and some EECS research focus heavily on swarms of unmanned aerial vehicles. Eytan Modiano and Sertac Karaman's project "WiSwarm" (confirmed active: 2022-2023 and recently renewed) provides a protocol for wireless networking that involves many UAVs communicating with a "central" computer in order to coordinate collective motion and not confuse signals. Karaman's project focuses on target pursuit with information provided by "pings" from ground-based sensors in order to improve these chases without human intervention. Karaman's project to develop Algorithms for Underwater Persistent Monitoring and Autonomous Underwater Docking (confirmed active: 2013-2023) are useful in policing the sea blockade of Gaza and monitoring urban congestion.

Daniela Rus' research focuses on swarm coordination in the presence of moving targets, particularly human ones. "Surveillance" is cited as an application. Her project "Coreset Compression Algorithms" develops AI algorithms for applications like "city-scale observation systems". Past projects have suggested applications to "surveillance and vigilance." These lightweight algorithms are ideal for teaching small unmanned vehicles, including drones, to track and pursue targets with increased autonomy. Military applications for these technologies include aerial drone bombings, surveilling protests, pursuing evading targets, and using tear gas during home demolitions.

The Israeli military has used such 'flocks' of armed drone aircraft to hunt escaping targets in Gaza and direct airstrikes.[57] Swarms of armed Israeli quadcopters draw people out of their houses by playing sounds of women and children in distress and then shoot them.[58]

RLE, Biological Engineering, and Physics work at MIT also contribute to Israeli violence. Qing Hu's Terahertz Quantum-Cascade Lasers and Imaging project (confirmed active: 2013-2018) uses semiconductor-based lasers as a light source for real-time imaging systems. Its potential uses include anti-missile systems called DIRCMs to help aircraft evade missiles, as well as radar imaging and depth scanning. Israel's own defense contractors profit from DIRCM research. William Oliver's project High Fidelity Qubits and Readout develops quantum computing for algorithmic applications. Military use cases include microwave sensing and accurately clocking for GPS-denied navigation. Indeed, quantum computing is an industry that the Israeli military industrial complex is keen to develop. Yoel Fink works on optical fiber-based detection of radiofrequency fields used for radio monitoring, surveillance, reconnaissance, and electronic warfare. Christopher Voigt develops biosensors as hyperspectral reporters for detecting environmental conditions. Military use cases include predicting corrosion on military vehicles, surveilling targets, detecting biological threats as well as buried landmines.

57 Gross, Judah Ari. "In Apparent World First, IDF Deployed Drone Swarms in Gaza Fighting," *The Times of Israel*, July 10, 2021.

58 Hussaini, Maha. "War on Gaza: Israeli Drones Lure Palestinians with Crying Children Recordings Then Shoot Them," *Middle East Eye*, April 17, 2024.

Whom does this research serve? MIT officials such as the Provost and Chancellor say that such projects are not classified—that they are "fundamental research" and freely available to investigators everywhere and not in a particular country. However this masks the fact that research commissioned by the military tends to support particular military objectives. Scholars have exhaustively documented how industry-sponsored academic research tends to **bias scholarship** in favor of sugar, lead, tobacco, pharmaceuticals, and fossil fuels.[59] The same is true for the military. In Palestine, the Israeli occupation routinely tests new technologies on civilians in the "laboratory" in Gaza, producing the label "battle-tested."[60] By sponsoring war research into these technologies, the Israeli military benefits from its relationship with MIT, the "Pentagon on the Charles." MIT connections also help the Israeli military launder its reputation, similar to how the sexual abuser Jeffrey Epstein used MIT to launder his own image.[61]

Faced with these uncomfortable truths, scientists sometimes trick themselves into believing that their research is morally neutral."What I'm designing may one day be used to kill millions of people,"an MIT grad worker told a reporter in 1969 during the US bombing of Vietnam. "I don't care. That's not my responsibility. I'm given an interesting technological problem and I get enjoyment out of solving it."[62] However, an ethical scientist and an ethical institution pursue scientific avenues that affirm life, that help repair the world, and that refuse to allow abusive militaries to launder their reputations while they commit mass murder.

As scientists against apartheid, the MIT Coalition for Palestine will not help the armies that maim children, nor the drones that strike hospitals, nor the bombs that annihilate cities. We struggle against the systems that, in the words of Audre Lorde, orchestrate crisis after crisis and grind all of our futures into dust. We stand in solidarity with the wretched of the Earth. We refuse to devote our labor to genocide. MIT should too.

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59 Sofia Hiltner et al., "Fossil Fuel Industry Influence in Higher Education: A Review and a Research Agenda," *Wire's Climate Change*, September 5, 2024.

60 See Antony Loewenstein, *The Palestine Laboratory* (Verso: 2023).

61 North, Anna. "Jeffrey Epstein Used MIT to Launder His Image. It's a Lesson for the #MeToo Era," *Vox*, September 9, 2019.

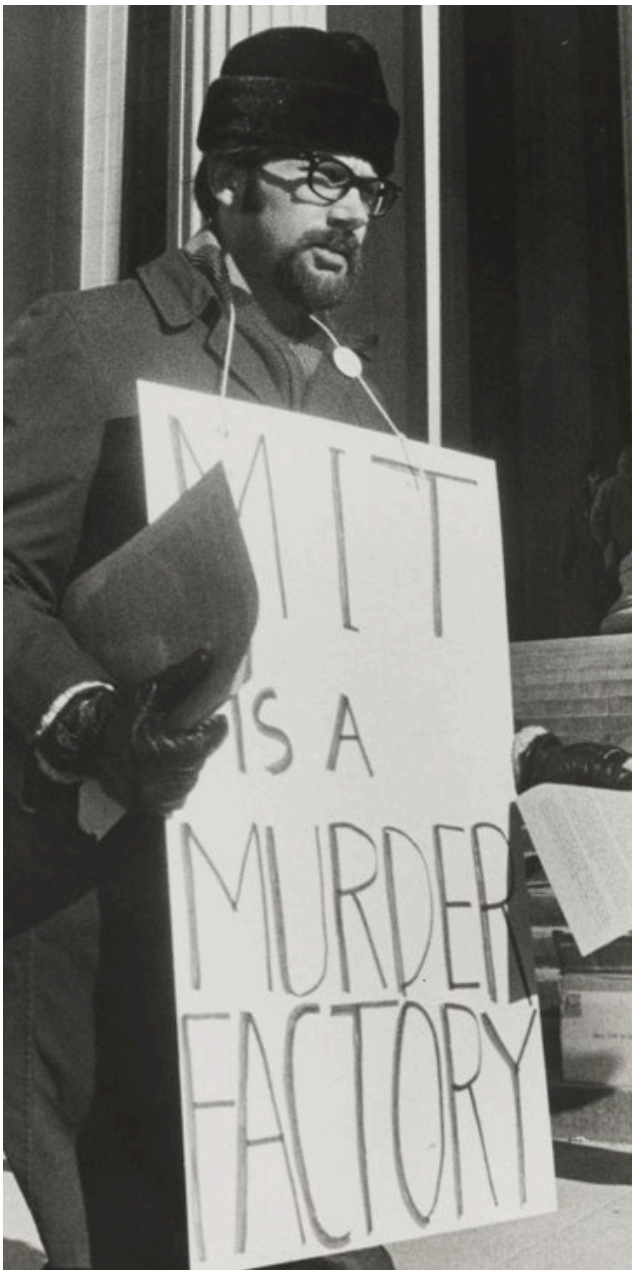
62 See Leslie, Stuart W. *The Cold War and American Science: The Military-industrial-academic Complex at MIT and Stanford.* United Kingdom: Columbia University Press, 1993.

Section 3:
MIT's Collaborations with Israeli Military Contractors

Israeli strikes in Gaza City, October 11, 2023. © Saleh Salem | Reuters

MIT's Collaborations with Israeli Military Contractors

MIT's place in the US military-industrial complex is exhaustively documented.**[63]** Traditional partners include RTX (Raytheon), Draper Laboratory, BAE Systems, Northrop Grumman, and Boeing. On average, about 60% of MIT revenue comes from the federal government, and 17.4% from the Department of Defense. MIT also prioritizes institutional collaborations with firms that sell and transport weapons to Israel for profit. These collaborations legitimize abuse of political, human, and civil rights in Palestine. They also recruit MIT faculty and students into militaristic activity and bias scientific research agendas toward belligerent instead of life-affirming applications. The following is an un-exhaustive list of such Israeli military contractors, which the MIT Coalition for Palestine has found particularly egregious in the depth of their support for Israeli apartheid and settler colonialism.



Protesting at Lobby 7 in 1971 (credit: MIT Museum)

Elbit Systems

Elbit Systems, Ltd. is Israel's largest military contractor. Elbit supplies 85% of Israel's killer drone arsenal and is a primary provider of mortar munitions, electronic warfare, signal intelligence technology, white phosphorus, cluster bombs, and flechette projectiles to the settler apartheid state. Elbit Hermes 450 drones were used in the 2024 World Central Kitchen massacre in Gaza and the murder of 164 Palestinian children in Gaza in 2014.

63 See Leslie (1993), Nelkin (2019), and MIT: REGRESSIONS (2022) documentary.

The Israeli armed forces continue to rely systematically on Elbit machinery to commit massacres (see Gaza Genocide), and surveil segregated Palestinians in occupied East Jerusalem and the West Bank. Elbit also abets oppression globally. For example, Elbit sells missiles to Azerbaijan to use in the ethnic cleansing of Armenian Christians from Artsakh. Elbit supplies India's military with drones to use in the occupation of Kashmir, as well as spyware to the Ethiopian government to arrest dissidents. It produces surveillance technology for the US-Mexico and EU-Africa borders.

Despite widespread evidence of direct, material support for human rights abuses, Elbit has been a member of the MIT Industrial Liaison Program (ILP) since 2017. Through the ILP, Elbit is able to monitor MIT research developments, identify MIT resources of interest, arrange face-to-face meetings with MIT faculty, advise on research sponsorship and technology licensing opportunities, and link up to MIT-connected startups. Elbit has also participated in MIT ConnecTech, a Hillel program connecting MIT to Israeli start-ups that show MIT's deep commitment to Elbit's work. In 2021, Elbit Systems, and KMC, Elbit's medical subsidiary, announced their opening of a new "innovation center" in Cambridge's Central Square, at 130 Bishop Allen Drive. The center boasted easy access to MIT and Harvard graduates as well as their hopes to grow up to 60 engineers. This did not come to fruition. In late August of 2024, following a year-long pressure campaign from Boston-area community activists, it was announced that Elbit Systems vacated its office. However, concerned MIT scientists know that Elbit's influence is still very present through the Industrial Liaison Program. It is time for MIT to follow suit and cut ties with Elbit. There is precedent for this.

In 2020, MIT made the decision to end its engagements with Saudi Aramco in 2020 amidst concerns about the murder of Jamal Khashoggi. In 2009, Norway's government pension fund divested from Elbit Systems due to its role in supplying technology for Israel's apartheid wall, which was found illegal by the International Court of Justice. In 2018, HSBC divested all its holdings from Elbit Systems due to its production of cluster bombs. In October 2024, Barclays Bank sold their holding in Elbit Systems, valued at over $3.4 million. MIT has existing norms to disqualify any firm from having a relationship with MIT if there exists "credible evidence that the company's activities are contributing to the suppression of human rights in Xinjiang" or if it has direct relationship with the Chinese armed forces. **[64]** Any consistent concern for human rights would extend that principle to Palestine.

Maersk

Maersk is the largest shipping company in the world. From October 2023 to June 2024, Maersk transported more than $300 million of weapons components for major arms manufacturers to the US. A quarter of identified shipments of components for Northrup Gruman, Woodward, Raytheon, and Lockheed into the US are Maersk ships. **[65]** About 69% of Israel's weapons are sent from the US. In addition to US military cargo planes and ships, Maersk itself ships those weapons as part of its Voluntary Intermodal Sealift Agreement (VISA) and the Maritime Security Program (MSP) with the US Department of Defense. Maersk actively transports millions of pounds of military goods, including hundreds of armored and tactical vehicles and their components to the Israeli military for use in Gaza.**[66]**

64 Richard Lester et al., "University Engagement with China: An MIT Approach," *The MIT China Strategy Group*, October 2022.

65 "Evidence of Maersk Shipments to Israeli Military," *Palestinian Youth Movement,* November 4, 2024.

66 Lennard, Natasha. "Shipping Giant Maersk Violated Spanish Embargo on Sending Military Goods to Israel, Researchers Say," *The Intercept*, November 4, 2024.

Maersk has a partnership with MIT Center for Transportation & Logistics. Since 2009, Maersk has been one of CTL's supply chain exchange partners, granting it privileged access and networking to CTL researchers, transportation logistics, and symposia. In 2021 Maersk announced a "landmark agreement" with CTL to deepen its relationship with senior CTL researchers, such as CTL director Yossi Sheffi. Maersk has since sponsored multiple research papers at MIT focusing on automating the shipping industry, despite large-scale port worker strikes over such policies. In 2023, Maersk announced a collaboration with the Ashdod port, stating that the collaboration "builds on an earlier innovation agreement" with MIT. Ashdod is one of many ports in Israel, and it is uniquely positioned next to Gaza. Ashdod port is defined as "essential state infrastructure" by the Israeli government, and 10% of its workers are directly recruited by the Israeli military. The Israeli Defense Ministry confirmed that 2500 tons of weapons were shipped from the US to the port of Ashdod in November.

Maersk thus has a direct relationship with the Israeli armed forces as a provider of systems, products, or services with military applications and supports the flow of weapons used in the mass murder of Palestinians. MIT's choice as a prestigious institution to collaborate with Maersk "legitimizes violations of political, human, or civil rights" in Palestine, to echo the language of MIT's own elevated-risk project review process.

Under such circumstances, MIT must immediately suspend its agreements with Maersk. MIT has existing norms to disqualify any company from having a relationship with MIT if there exists "credible evidence that the company's activities are contributing to the suppression of human rights in Xinjiang" or if it has direct relationship with the Chinese armed forces.**[67]** Any consistent concern for human rights would extend that principle to Palestine.

Lockheed Martin

Lockheed Martin is a global weapons manufacturer that has sold several billion dollars of weapons to the apartheid state of Israel. In particular, Lockheed has supplied the Israeli government with AGM-1149R9X Hellfire missiles, F-16 and F-35 attack aircraft, and heavy artillery which they have used to destroy Palestinian society in Gaza over the past year: its schools, hospitals, universities, holy sites, and vital infrastructure – directly killing tens of thousands of Palestinians and expelling millions in the process. For instance, Lockheed's Hellfire missiles were used to conduct the Al-Shifa hospital massacre. Through its armaments, Lockheed has profited from the genocidal war on Gaza and further enabled the right-wing government of Benjamin Netanyahu, an MIT alumnus, to run torture camps in Sde Teiman and impose a regime of apartheid in East Jerusalem and the West Bank.

67 Richard Lester et al., "University Engagement with China: An MIT Approach," The MIT China Strategy Group, October 2022.

Since 2019, MIT International Science and Technology Initiative Israel (MISTI-Israel) has administered a Lockheed Martin Seed Fund to connect students and researchers at MIT to Lockheed Martin's projects in Israel. Amidst mass pressure, MISTI-Israel discontinued the seed fund, and staff confirmed in writing the funding cycle will not be renewed. The program ended after months of protest, including letter deliveries, sit-ins, and a public information campaign. Confronted publicly with the win, MIT has said unconvincingly that the fund simply expired at the end of its cycle. The reality is that the default for such contracts is to renew, and rarely do divesting institutions admit they did it because of activist pressure. **[68]** Either MIT or Lockheed Martin felt the heat and backed out.

Lockheed Martin's recruiting efforts were further disrupted at the 2024 MIT Fall Career Fair, where a banner reading "LOCKHEED KILLS CHILDREN IN GAZA" appeared overhead, and students lined up to challenge recruiters on Lockheed's profiteering from mass killing and its emission of twenty-nine million metric tons of CO2 in 2024. Recruiters left three hours early, exasperated.**[69]** That fight continues: Lockheed Martin still sponsors seed funds at MIT under MISTI-Germany and MISTI-Poland. Lockheed Martin has been a member of the MIT Energy Initiative since 2009. In 2017, it signed a 'master agreement' for long-term research collaborations with MIT, led by the Institute's Department of Aeronautics and Astronautics and in collaboration with MIT's Computer Science and Artificial Intelligence Laboratory.

To summarize the facts Lockheed Martin has a direct relationship with the Israeli armed forces as a provider of systems, products, or services with military applications. Under such conditions, MIT's choice to continue collaborating with Lockheed Martin legitimizes violations of political, human, or civil rights in Palestine. MIT has existing norms to disqualify any company from having a relationship with MIT if there exists "credible evidence that the company's activities are contributing to the suppression of human rights in Xinjiang" or if it has direct relationship with the Chinese armed forces. MIT has also expressed its own commitments to minimize the "adverse environmental, health and safety impacts" of Institute activities. Any consistent concern for human rights and safety would extend that principle to Palestine. MIT must immediately suspend all collaborations with Lockheed Martin.

Banner Roll Out at MIT Fall Career Fair, September 20, 2024

68 Witness for instance the response of Puma after capitulating to activist pressure to end their sponsorship of the Israel Football Association.

69 Hana Flores and Kate Pearce. "Lockheed Leaves the Career Fair: Reflections on the Power of Principled Dissent," *The Tech*, October 3, 2024.

Caterpillar

Caterpillar, Inc. manufactures a special class of armored bulldozers for the Israeli armed forces called the D9. These D9 bulldozers are routinely used to demolish homes, factories, agricultural land and civilian infrastructure in Palestine. In March 2003, An Israeli soldier operating a Caterpillar D9 bulldozer killed a U.S. anti-apartheid activist and student Rachel Corrie during a flattening of Palestinian homes in Gaza. In the past two years, Israel has used such armed bulldozers to cleanse the Palestinian communities in Masafer Yatta**[70]**, inflict collective punishment on Tulkarem and Jenin**[71]**, flatten Palestinian Christian homes in Makhrour, Bethlehem in preparation for settler takeover**[72]**, and desecrate corpses in Gaza. Caterpillar, alongside Hyundai Heavy Industries, JCB and Volvo Group, has thus faced reasonable criticism by the human rights community for its ongoing sales to the Israeli military despite Caterpillar's claim that its products should be used "consistent with human rights and the requirements of international humanitarian law."**[73]**

Caterpillar, Inc has been a partner of MIT in the Leaders for Global Operations (LGO) program since 2009. In LGO, Caterpillar sponsors research projects and internships and enjoys privileged access to MIT talent and expertise for its recruiting. In the past, Caterpillar has sponsored the purportedly 'unbiased' research of MIT Joint Program on the Science and Policy of Global Change and is currently a member of MIT's CSAIL Alliances—billed as a "gateway into MIT's Computer Science and Artificial Intelligence Laboratory."

This is the same Caterpillar that arms a military committing massacres of Palestinians as part of a 21st century settler colonial project in the occupied territories. Caterpillar has a direct relationship with the Israeli armed forces as a provider of systems, products, or services with military applications, which are used routinely to conduct human rights abuses. Under such conditions, MIT's choice to continue collaborating with Caterpillar legitimizes violations of political, human, or civil rights in Palestine and encourages MIT talent and expertise to be recruited into Caterpillar's crimes.

MIT has existing norms to disqualify any company from having a relationship with MIT if there exists "credible evidence that the company's activities are contributing to the suppression of human rights in Xinjiang" or if it has direct relationship with the Chinese armed forces. MIT has also expressed its own commitments to minimize the "adverse environmental, health and safety impacts" of Institute activities. Any consistent concern for human rights would extend such principles to Palestine. MIT must immediately suspend all collaborations with Caterpillar.

70 See *No Other Land* (2024) documentary film, produced by Yuval Avraham, Basel Adra, Hamdan Ballal, and Rachel Szor.

71 Erika Solomon, Lauren Leatherby, and Aric Toler. "Israeli Bulldozers Flatten Mile After Mile in the West Bank," *The New York Times*, September 25, 2024.

72 Chahuneau, Louis. "'We're Not Afraid': French-Palestinian Family Fights for West Bank Land Seized by Israeli Settlers," *France 24*, September 2, 2024.

73 "Caterpillar Inc's Role in Human Rights Violations in the Occupied Palestinian Territories," *Amnesty International*, December 23, 2010. See also reports on Caterpillar by Human Rights Watch and U.N. High Commissioner on Human Rights.

Global Oppression and Beyond

These four companies – Caterpillar, Lockheed Martin, Maersk, and Elbit – are the tip of the iceberg. One could easily unearth other cases. **Raytheon** (now RTX), which emerged from MIT and maintains close ties to MIT, supplies the Israeli government with missiles and 4,000lb bombs called GBU-28. From 2021 to 2023, Boeing made more guided bombs and munitions for Israel than any other US company, and **Boeing** is embedded in MIT collaborations; for instance, **Aurora Flight Sciences**, a subsidiary of Boeing which researches "autonomous flight systems" currently leases workspace from MIT at 314 Main Street in Cambridge. **Google** and **Amazon** provide the Israeli military with cloud computing and AI services under **Project Nimbus** and continue to enjoy privileged, institutionally-supported relationships with MIT researchers. Beyond Palestine, MITdesignX Dubai partners with **Silicon Oasis**, a subsidiary of the United Arab Emirates government, which sponsors a genocidal militia in Sudan called the Rapid Support Forces.

Looking to other clusters of institutional power, MIT refuses to sign the UN Principles for Responsible Investment or disclose its $32 billion of net financial holdings. If investigations at Harvard are any guide, MIT's endowment likely owns assets in fossil fuel industries and companies which support the Zionist settler project in occupied Palestine. MIT also holds a unique distinction as the only American university to host a classified weapons lab, which is entirely bankrolled by the U.S. Department of Defense. The **MIT Lincoln Laboratory** currently holds a $20 billion contract for the 2015-2025 period and conduct classified research in ballistics, surveillance, radar, and cyber-warfare. As an FFRDC, the fruits of Lincoln Lab research are later disseminated to defense contractors, which test, monetize, and eventually market these technologies to U.S. client states such as Israel. Under such conditions, it may seem unrealistic or daunting to demand MIT change. However the journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step, and MIT's own rules require it. Moreover, MIT has ended collaborations and divested in the past. It can be done again.

Section 4: Our Campaign

MIT students retake the Scientists Against Genocide Encampment, May 6, 2024 © Brian Snyder | Reuters
MIT students demand justice for Palestine and an end to MIT research ties with Israel, March 2024

Our Campaign & MIT's own rules

4.1: MIT Coalition for Palestine Demands since 2023

In October 2023 over 15 student groups formed the MIT Coalition for Palestine with a core demand of ending research sponsorship by the Israeli Ministry of Defense (IMoD). MIT students held walkouts, vigils, teach-ins, protests, and sit-ins on several occasions. The most conspicuous of these was on November 9 and February 12 when MIT students staged a historic sit-in in MIT's Lobby 7, the same place where MIT students in the past have demonstrated against the Vietnam War and anti-black police brutality. In response, administrators threatened participants with suspension. MIT police subsequently shut down scheduled teaching events and allowed provocateurs to harass and in some cases assault students. On February 13, president Sally Kornbluth sent a campus-wide letter formally banning the Coalition Against Apartheid under a highly selective enforcement of rules; the CAA website was shut-down, more than a dozen student organizers were formally sanctioned, and graduate workers were denied rights to union representation in the disciplinary process.

The MIT community did not go down gently. On March 23, undergraduates voted by 63% in a campus-wide referendum with the highest turnout in living memory to call for a cease-fire in Gaza, stand with student organizers for Palestine, and cut all research and financial ties with the Israeli military.**[74]** On April 19, members of the MIT Graduate Student Union, or United Electric 256, voted by over 70.5 percent in a referendum to ratify a similar resolution. Thousands signed the "No Science for Apartheid" pledge. Yet MIT administrators refused requests by coalition organizers to discuss divestment.

This changed when the Scientists Against Genocide encampment formed in April 2024 on Kresge lawn where in 1987 the original Coalition Against Apartheid encamped to pressure MIT to divest from apartheid South Africa. Coalition members secured a meeting with MIT administrators to present written demands, which included first of all "rejecting any current and future direct or indirect influences of the Ministry of Defense of Israel on research projects at MIT." Also included was ending the IMoD's involvement in "non-research global initiatives" such as internships and study-abroad programs.

In the first April 26 meeting, MIT administrators rejected the proposal, and offered, instead, a vague and unspecified modification to MIT's grant review process. They urged students to treat this token concession as a "big win" and to end the encampment, giving the implied threat that "it has not ended well when things are pushed beyond this." Coalition negotiators refused. In following meetings, the coalition provided an amended written proposal to enforce MIT's existing Suri guidelines to reject grants from organizations engaged in human rights violations.

Administrators failed to promise the enforcement of existing MIT policy and argued Israel's Ministry of Defense could not be rejected as a sponsor due to the "nuance" of the situation.**[75]** Later the MIT Chancellor alleged that ending Israeli military sponsorships at MIT would encroach on 'academic freedom.'

This was followed by waves of repression in order to quell dissent.**[76]** On May 3rd, MIT police constructed a ring of fences and a checkpoint to enclose the encampment. On May 10, they destroyed it. Over the spring and summer of 2024, MIT authorities arrested, evicted, and suspended dozens of organizers, choosing mostly students of color. In academic year 2023-24, about 45 of the 52 Committee on Discipline (87%) of cases targeted students of color. Coalition orgs such as Taara, Jews for Collective Liberation, Black Student Union, and Arab Student Organization were thrown into a swamp of bureaucratic obstruction and discipline. Restrictions on flyering, posters, tabling, vigils, and film screenings were tightened. The vice president and full-time staffer of MIT's United Electric Local 256 union were banned from campus indefinitely. The Coalition Against Apartheid was permanently banned. From August to November 2024, police arrested five people at MIT protests, all minorities. Several more took disciplinary letters for asking questions to recruiters at a career fair. In November, an edition of the student publication *Written Revolution* and its chief editor were banned from campus for an article discussing the limits of pacifism.

74 Jonathan Anziani, Hannah Didehbani, and Amira Ravshanova. "In Support of Science for Liberation, Not Oppression: Vote YES," *The Tech*, March 21, 2024.

75 Metzger, Jessica. "Research for Human Rights Abuses: How MIT Breaks Its Own Rules," *The Tech*, October 3, 2024.

76 The scale and tactics of MIT resistance to this repression has been recounted in detail in the opinion section of *The Tech* as well as MIT Coalition for Palestine media.

4.2: MIT's Own Rules and Obligations

The truth is that MIT has existing policies and norms that obligate swift action to end all MIT collaborations with the Israeli government and its military contractors. These concerns override academic freedom objections and include the following:

- MIT's Suri guidelines on ethical funding
- MIT's rules on foreign engagements
- MIT's expectations on scientific ethics
- MIT's environment, health, and safety policies
- MIT's prohibition on improper use of Institute property
- MIT's policy on Community Well-Being.
- MIT's mission
- Federal and International Law

After activists exposed the scandal of MIT's ties to Jeffrey Epstein and the Saudi monarchy, the MIT president commissioned a report to address ethical issues in donations and research sponsorships. This 2020 Suri Report established guidelines and a protocol by which to assess "outside engagements" including "grants, gifts, and any other associations and collaborations involving MIT with governments, corporations, foundations, or private individuals, domestic or foreign." The Suri guidelines, although never formally incorporated into MIT policy, are available on MIT's faculty governance site and a list of official MIT reports, making them public, quasi-official recommendations to faculty and PIs. The guidelines instruct MIT faculty and staff to automatically reject engagements or sponsorships from organizations, including governmental ministries, that code "yes" to any of the listed criteria:

> *Has this institutional partner directly engaged in, supported, or funded any gross violations of political, civil, or human rights?*
>
> *Do the institutional partner's policies and their enforcement in this engagement involve a gross violation of political, civil, or human rights?"*

The report defines political, civil, and human rights as follows:

> *"**Political rights** include procedural fairness in law, such as the rights of the accused, including the right to a fair trial; due process; the right to seek redress or a legal remedy; and rights of participation in civil society and politics, such as freedom of association, the right to assemble, the right to petition, the right of self-defense, and the right to vote.*
>
> ***Civil rights** include ensuring people's physical and mental integrity, life, and safety; protection from discrimination on grounds such as race, gender, sexual orientation, national origin, color, age, political affiliation, ethnicity, religion, and disability; and individual rights such as privacy and the freedom of thought, speech, religion, press, assembly, and movement.*
>
> *For **human rights**, although not formally defined in international law, "gross violations" denote types of violations that affect in qualitative and quantitative terms the most basic rights of human beings, notably the right to life and the right to physical and moral integrity of the human person…It is generally assumed that genocide, slavery and slave trading, murder, enforced disappearances, torture or other cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment, prolonged arbitrary detention, deportation or forcible transfer of population, and systematic racial discrimination fall into this category. Deliberate and systematic deprivation of essential foodstuffs, essential primary health care, or basic shelter and housing may also amount to gross violations of human rights."*

Such considerations permeate **official MIT guidelines.** For example, MIT's "Elevated Risk Review Process" evaluates MIT projects funded by people or entities in China, Russia, and Saudi Arabia. While currently only required to apply to these countries, other countries "may be subject to review" as global circumstances change. It lists the following issues as relevant in the elevated risk review process:

> ***Political, civil, and human rights risk:*** *the risk that research outcomes will be used in ways that would infringe on political, human, or civil rights in a foreign country, or that the engagement will indirectly legitimize violations of political, human, or civil rights in that country.*
>
> *The risk to the MIT community of providing support for actions that run counter to MIT's core values, or that are not aligned with its academic mission, or that might lead to discrimination among members of our community, or that would permit undue external influence over the direction of MIT research or education.*

More specifically, the MIT China Strategy Group's 2022 report on university engagements with China lists circumstances that should disqualify a company from having a relationship with MIT as follows:

> *Any direct involvement in government intelligence activities or a direct relationship with the Chinese armed forces as a provider of systems, products, or services with military applications;*
>
> *Credible evidence that the company's activities are contributing to the suppression of human rights in Xinjiang or elsewhere in China.***[77]**

Any morally consistent concern for human rights would extend such principles to Palestine. The Israeli Ministry of Defense (IMoD) is the armed wing of the Israeli government. As detailed exhaustively in this report's sections Gaza Genocide and Settler Colonialism, it is directly involved in the crime of genocide in Gaza and the severe, large-scale suppression of human rights in the occupied Palestinian territories and Israel proper. These include Palestinian rights to habeas corpus, freedom of association, assembly, worship, self-defense, voting, physical and mental integrity, life itself, and the right to protection from discrimination on grounds such as race, national origin, and ethnicity.

As detailed exhaustively in the Gaza Genocide and the Nakba sections of this report, the Israeli Ministry of Defense (IMoD) is liable for the crimes of genocide, murder, enforced disappearances, torture, cruel and degrading treatment, prolonged arbitrary detention, deportation, forcible transfer of population, starvation, and systematic racial discrimination. **If MIT does not allow Principal Investigators the unqualified "academic freedom" to have their research sponsored by Saudi Aramco because of crimes by the Saudi monarchy, why should it allow research sponsored by the Israeli armed forces given its heinous crimes against Palestinians?** If MIT disqualifies any company from a relationship with MIT if it supplies "systems, products, or services with military applications" to the Chinese military, MIT should disqualify Elbit, Lockheed Martin, and Maersk, which supply products with military applications to the Israeli military.

77 Richard Lester et al., "University Engagement with China: An MIT Approach," The MIT China Strategy Group, October 2022.

4.3: MIT Rules and Federal Law

MIT's ties to the IMoD and its contractors violate other MIT policies. The MIT Environmental, Health and Safety Policy (9.14.1) says that the Institute is committed to "minimizing the adverse environmental, health and safety impacts" of its activities and operations on a global level. Research sponsorship and institutional collaboration are Institute activities, but MIT does not consider the health, safety, and environment of Palestinians in Gaza when it supports their oppressors with institutional collaborations. MIT's Office of the Vice President for Research (VPR) claims that the "betterment of humankind" is an "overriding objective of research collaborations." Indeed the "betterment of humankind" is given a central role in MIT's mission statement. Yet Palestinians are members of humankind, and their human dignity is not considered by MIT when it collaborates with the occupying military power. VPR also states that "MIT expects that all researchers at MIT carry out their work according to the highest ethical and professional standards." Research sponsored by a foreign entity committing genocide is not ethical.

MIT's Mind and Hand Book states that the Institute expects that members of the MIT community will not engage in behavior that has serious ramifications for the health, safety, and welfare of others and that it is the "Institute's responsibility to consider the well-being of the community." Conducting research sponsored by a foreign military committing genocide has serious ramifications for the health, safety, and welfare of Palestinians and other students with moral convictions.

MIT's Mind and Hand Book further says that MIT prohibits improper use of Institute property or facilities, including for illegal activities. Complicity in genocide, including complicit research, is an illegal activity under Article 3 of the 1951 Genocide Convention. MIT's endowment manager pledges to "restrict ourselves to investment choices that comport with MIT's values." MIT invests in companies and relationships with companies that profit from genocide. Federal law rules out Institute activity that discriminates on the basis of ethnicity or national origin, and MIT states that it is committed to "the elimination of racism and racist conduct." Yet MIT collaborates with a foreign military that implements a regime of systematic racial segregation in Palestine.

Federal law criminalizes material support for terrorism. Foreign terrorist organizations (FTO) are designated by the US Secretary of State as (1) foreign organizations that (2) engage in "terrorist activity" defined according to the Immigration and Nationality Act to include the use of any "explosive, firearm, or weapon" with intent to endanger the safety of individuals or "cause substantial damage to property." To be an FTO, this activity must (3) threaten the security of U.S. nationals. The Israeli military and armed Israeli settler groups are foreign organizations. They use explosives and firearms with intent to kill US nationals and substantially damage the property of US citizens in Gaza and the West Bank.**[78]** Under a consistent application of the definition, the Israeli military is a foreign terrorist organization. MIT's material support for it through scientific research is thus a crime.

78 Examples include the killing of US citizens Aysenur Ezgi Eygi, Tawfic Abdel Jabbar, Mohammad Alkhdour, Jacob Flickinger, and Rachel Corrie.

4.4: Ukraine, Darfur, and Xinjiang

Ending MIT's ties to genocide in Palestine does not violate academic freedom. In 2022, MIT unilaterally ended its collaboration with the Skolkovo Institute of Science and Technology in Moscow (which it had helped establish) the day after Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Forty-five grants were immediately cut, impacting 26 PIs. **[79]** Exchange programs, recruitment avenues, and MIT-taught Skoltech classes were canceled, in addition to these grants. The grant sponsorship constituted 0.3% of MIT's budget—ten times more than the current IMoD sponsorship. MIT unilaterally ended its affiliation with Skoltech, overruled any protests over academic freedom, and provided transitional funding for impacted scientists. Research continued on. The MIT Chancellor claims that Skoltech could end because it was an "Institute-level programmatic commitment." If so, then MIT can publicly end the membership of Elbit Systems in the Industrial Liaison Program and Maersk in the Center for Transportation and Logistics, which are also Institute-level commitments.

Even despite academic freedom concerns, MIT can also publicly condemn Israeli-backed genocide and apartheid, express solidarity with Palestine, and make public its internal purported commitment that "students and postdocs who were not comfortable working on the [IMoD] funded projects could receive alternative funding from the Institute." MIT has made bold statements before. In 2022, the MIT President framed the Skoltech withdrawal as a "rejection of the actions of the Russian government in Ukraine." MISTI-Russia said it "condemns the Russian Federation's military invasion of Ukraine. We stand in solidarity with the people of Ukraine who are being invaded and occupied in this unjustified war of aggression."

MIT then launched the MIT-Ukraine Program with the stated goal of "mobilizing MIT's scientific and technical expertise in support of Ukraine." In fact, if MIT were committed to academic freedom in the fullest sense, it would extend similar opportunities for Palestinian scholars, students and scientific institutions. Instead, MIT has seemingly done the opposite by "deepening ties with Israeli researchers" through the Kalaniyot program.

Palestine Rising (2023) by Tafari Melisizwe

79 See the 2022 and 2023 Brown Books for the exact projects.

Such bold statements are not isolated to Ukraine. In 2007, MIT said it rejects the "abhorrent acts" of genocide in the Darfur region of Sudan and pledged to divest its $10 billion endowment of implicated portfolios and securities. In 2020, MIT terminated a CSAIL research collaboration with iFlytek, a Chinese AI company accused of supplying technology for surveilling Uyghur Muslims in the province of Xinjiang. In contrast, MIT officials have not expressed an iota of solidarity for Palestine as a national collective. MIT has not recognized the nature of the crimes committed against the Palestinian people, preferring to gesture vaguely at the "conflict in the Middle East" or otherwise soothe the brittle temperment of its Zionists through repeated and vocal attacks on MIT activists. Moreover, the MIT Coalition for Palestine's current demands are more modest than the Skoltech withdrawal. The coalition is not asking for the wholesale suspension of MISTI-Israel, Israeli grants, or programs. It is focused explicitly on ending MIT's ties to the Israeli military and its contractors.

4.5: Jeffrey Epstein and Saudi Aramco

Perhaps the strongest MIT precedent in recent memory for ending research and financial ties to abhorrent acts is MIT's ties to Jeffrey Epstein and Saudi Aramco. Jeffrey Epstein was a convicted pedophile and child sex trafficker who gave $850,000 to Professor Seth Lloyd and the MIT Media Lab under its director Joi Ito despite them and senior administrators knowing of his status as a Level 3 sex offender. MIT faculty and officials concealed his pedophilia and brought Epstein to campus nine times over several years despite the potential risks he posed as a sexual predator to the MIT community.[80] In 2019 under fire from activists and investigative journalists, MIT President Reif offered a "humble and heartfelt apology" for allowing MIT to "contribute to the elevation of [Epstein's] reputation."

The MIT president further stated that although faculty enjoy "great freedom in conducting and building support for their research" faculty not are not "on their own"; and their decisions about gifts are "always subject to longstanding Institute processes and principles." An amount equal to the Epstein donations was pledged to support the survivors of Epstein's sexual violence.

At no point in this scandal did senior MIT officials publicly evade the issue, or engage in motivated reasoning over the "academic freedom" of MIT laboratories or researchers to accept donations or sponsorships by Jeffrey Epstein.

MIT's signaling was clear, forceful, and apologetic. If MIT cut ties with Epstein for sexually abusing 36 children, how much more should it cut research ties with a foreign military for killing 11,000 children in Gaza?[81] The Israeli Ministry of Defense has overseen indiscriminate military[82] violence, starvation policy[83], and heinous acts of sexual violence in detention camps like Sde Teiman.[84]

80 Farrow, Ronan. "How an Élite University Research Center Concealed Its Relationship with Jeffrey Epstein." *The New Yorker*, September 6, 2019.

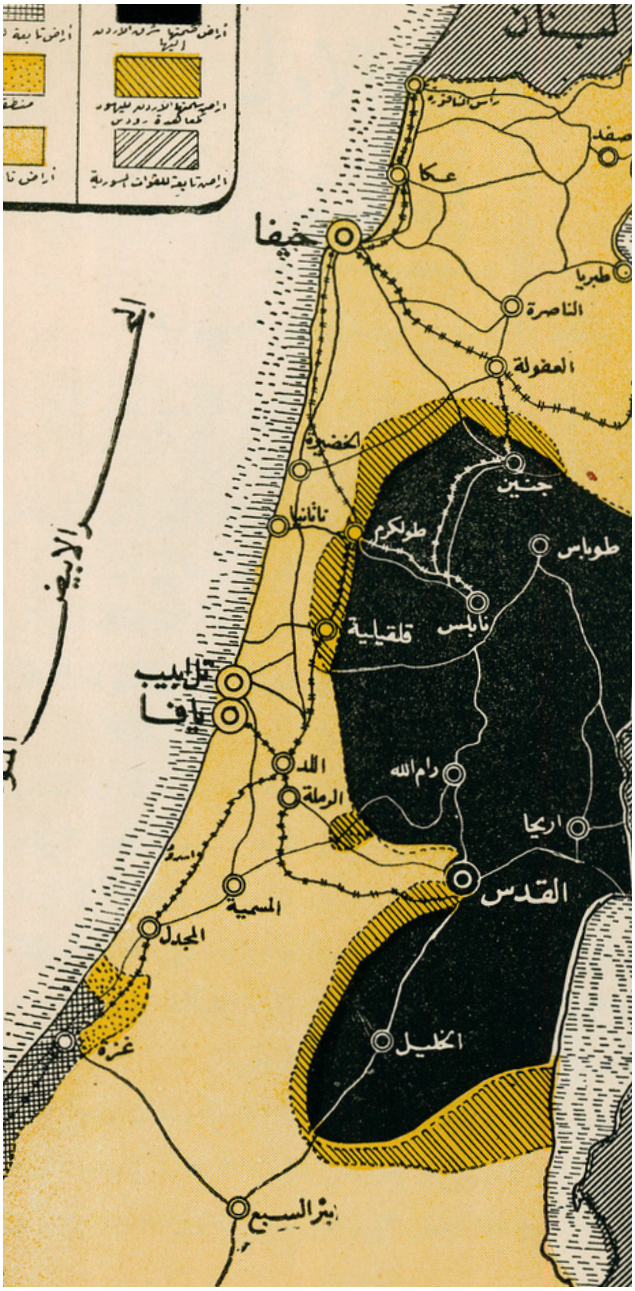
81 "More Women and Children Killed in Gaza by Israeli Military Than Any Other Recent Conflict in a Single Year," *Oxfam International*, September 30, 2024.

82 "Israeli Forces' Conduct in Gaza," *Human Rights Watch*, March 19, 2024.

83 Murphy, Brett. "Israel Deliberately Blocked Humanitarian Aid to Gaza, Two Government Bodies Concluded. Antony Blinken Rejected Them." *ProPublica*, September 24, 2024.

84 "Welcome to Hell: The Israeli Prison System as Network of Torture Camps," *B'Tselem*, August 2024.
Also Patrick Kingsley and Bilal Shbair. "Inside the Base Where Israel Has Detained Thousands of Gazans." *The New York Times*, June 6, 2024.

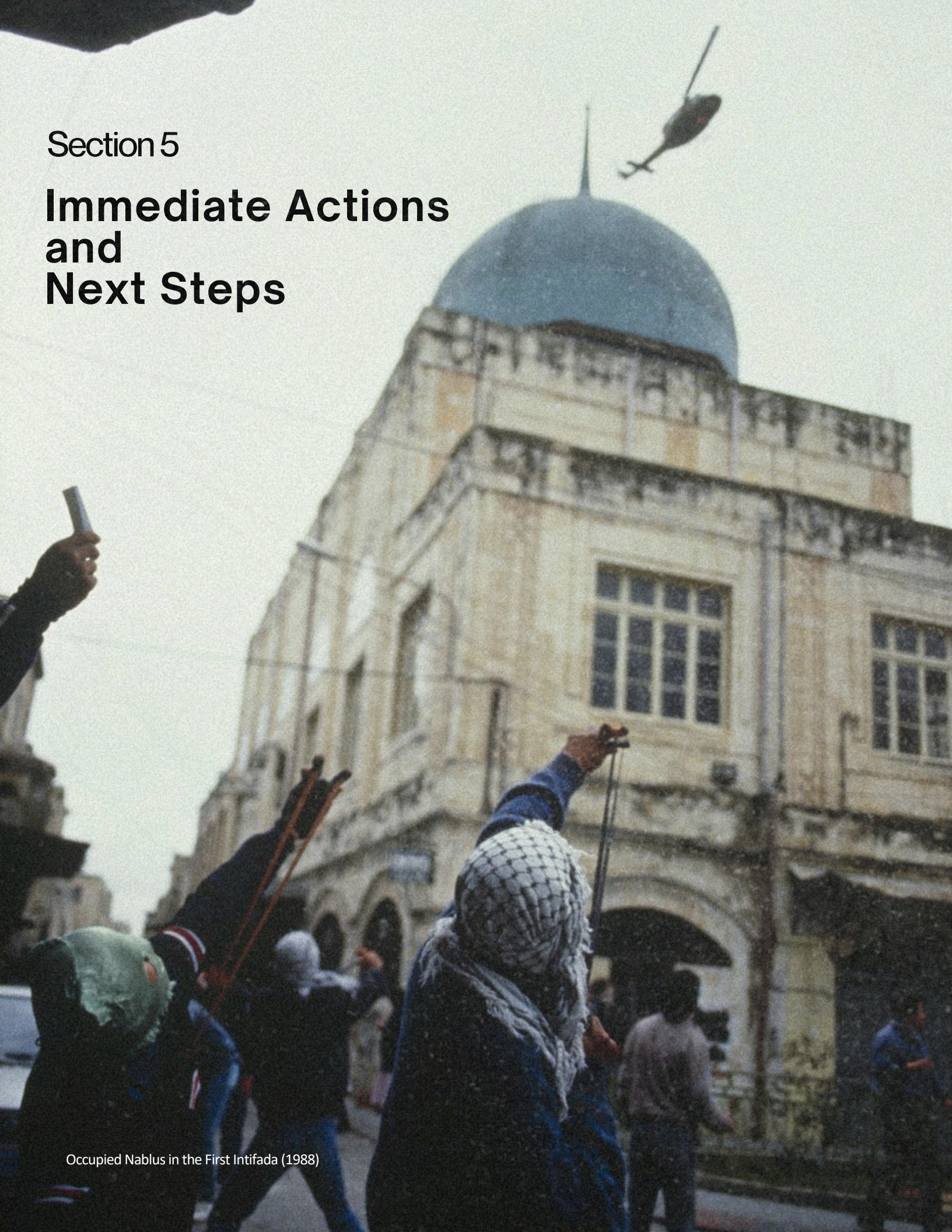
Similar to the Epstein case, MIT re-evaluated its relationship with Saudi Arabia in 2019. Under fire from activists, the MIT president announced that "MIT utterly condemns such brutal human rights violations, discrimination and suppression of dissent" following the state-orchestrated murder of dissident journalist Jamal Khashoggi. A year later, against faculty opposition, MIT pledged to end the participation of the state-owned oil giant Saudi Aramco in the MIT Energy Initiative and indefinitely decline any further engagements or lucrative research sponsorships by Saudi Aramco. They did this over one journalist. In the past year at least 160 journalists have been killed. The Aramco decision was informed by the recommendations of MIT's Senior Risk Group and an International Advisory Committee (IAC) established to address ethics in outside engagements. This is the same committee chaired by Prof. Suri, whose guidelines, if followed, would forbid sponsorships by the Israeli Ministry of Defense and its weapon suppliers.



Occupied Palestine cited in *Filistin al-Mahtallah* (1952)

Section 5

Immediate Actions and Next Steps



Occupied Nablus in the First Intifada (1988)

Immediate Actions and Next Steps

Given the above facts, the MIT administration must (1) immediately and publicly end all research funding and sponsorships by the Israeli ministry of defense. It must commit to providing transitional funding for impacted research projects. It must (2) publicly condemn Israeli genocide in Gaza as well as ongoing Israeli policies of apartheid and occupation. It must stand in solidarity with Palestinian students at MIT whose families remain in grave danger and whose existence is a testament to Palestinian *sumud* or steadfastness. This position must be complemented by (3) a public pivot away from complicit corporate partners such as Elbit, Maersk, and Lockheed Martin, and public action to divest the MIT Corporation's endowment from firms implicated in the occupation of the Palestinian territories.

Furthermore, MIT can and should deploy MIT's scientific and technical expertise in support of Palestine and extend opportunities for Palestinian scholars, students and scientific institutions, similar to the MIT-Ukraine Program. Such efforts can build off the Global MIT At-Risk Fellows for Palestine program. In the long term, MIT must review all collaborations with the US military and Pentagon, including the Lincoln Laboratory, for compliance with MIT commitments to international humanitarian law. MIT must undertake good-faith efforts to prevent its research from supporting the Israeli government and bar arms manufacturers from recruiting on campus. As a land-grant institution, MIT should work to redress the theft of lands from indigenous peoples perpetrated by the US government. And it should also take steps to transform its decision-making architecture, particularly the unelected and oligarchic MIT Corporation, to reflect the values and interests of scientists of conscience. This has been a long-standing demand of MIT activists, from the anti-Vietnam War era to Democratize MIT in the 2020s.

5.1: MIT Officials and Corporation

To make the steps more clear, below are specific actions that MIT officials can and should take:

MIT President Sally Kornbluth: In concert with the provost, chancellor, and corporation, Sally Kornbluth must immediately and publicly announce a change in MIT policy that indefinitely suspends research funding channels and institutional engagements with the Israeli ministry of defense and associated firms. She must express solidarity with Palestinian students at MIT and condemn the Israeli government for the invasion of Gaza and the crime of apartheid. A guide for such a decision would be MIT President L. Rafael Reif's decision in February 2022, where in consultation with senior leadership, he determined that MIT's relationship with the Skolkovo Institute of Science and Technology (Skoltech) must end.

The Office of the President should also announce transitional funding for affected research projects and work with PIs and graduate workers to complete their research and academic work without interruption. The MIT president should also work with the Senior Risk Group to add Israeli-tied projects to the elevated risk review process, which it currently requires for China, Russia, and Saudi Arabia. The bases for this includes reasonable concerns that "research outcomes will be used in ways that would infringe on political, human, or civil rights in a foreign country" or that such engagements "will indirectly legitimize violations of political, human, or civil rights in that country." The president can support those affected with transitional funding and redress the grievances of those impacted by the MIT administration's decision to arrest, ban, evict, and intimidate students of conscience.

MIT Provost Cynthia Barnhart: In concert with the president and corporation, Cynthia Barnhart must immediately announce a change in MIT policy that indefinitely suspends all research funding channels and institutional engagements with the Israeli ministry of defense. A guide for such a decision would be MIT President L. Rafael Reif's decision in February 2022, where in consultation with senior leadership, he determined that MIT's relationship with the Skolkovo Institute of Science and Technology (Skoltech) must immediately end. The Provost can also work to suspend indefinitely all engagements between Elbit Systems and MIT. A guide would be the 2020 decision by Associate Provost Richard K. Lester and Vice President for Research Maria T. Zuber, in concert with the Senior Risk Group, to end the participation of Saudi Aramco in the MIT Energy Initiative and decline any further sponsored engagements between MIT and Aramco. The provost can support affected graduate students in acquiring transitional funding and redress the genuine grievances of those impacted by MIT administrators' decision to arrest, ban, evict, and intimidate students of conscience.

MIT General Counsel Mark C. DiVincenzo: In addition to supporting the above administrators in condemning Israeli crimes in Gaza and ending MIT research ties with the Israeli military and complicit companies, the Office of General Counsel and MIT chief legal officer Mark DiVincenzo must educate and support MIT in fulfilling its obligations to the Genocide Convention, which criminalizes a secondary party's complicity in genocide. He must also advise MIT on its obligations to the principles of the Geneva Conventions, the Rome Statute, the Apartheid Convention, and federal bans on providing material support to abusive militaries and state sponsors of terrorism. The office of general counsel must further advise MIT to comply with US labor law, the Civil Rights Act, Higher Education Act and the Bill of Rights, which protect concerted action, free speech, and non-discrimination in the workplace.

Finally, as a member of MIT's International Coordinating Committee and Senior Risk Group, the general counsel must support adding all projects sponsored by Israeli-tied entities to the elevated risk review process, which it currently requires for China, Russia, and Saudi Arabia. This is called for by reasonable concerns that "research outcomes will be used in ways that would infringe on political, human, or civil rights in a foreign country" or that such engagements "will indirectly legitimize violations of political, human, or civil rights in that country."

MIT Chancellor Melissa Nobles: Melissa Nobles must act on her previous written calls to "decolonize research" and "forge a path towards restorative justice and reconciliation." She can do so by immediately supporting the president and corporation in a change in MIT policy that indefinitely suspends all research funding channels and institutional engagements with the Israeli ministry of defense. The Chancellor can also work with other campus authorities to indefinitely suspend all engagements between Elbit Systems, Maersk, Lockheed Martin, Caterpillar, and MIT. The chancellor can support affected graduate students in acquiring transitional funding and redress the genuine grievances of those impacted by MIT's decision to arrest, ban, evict, and intimidate students of conscience.

MIT Corporation trustees and treasurer Glen Shor: In addition to supporting the above officers in condemning Israeli crimes in Gaza and ending MIT research ties with the Israeli military and complicit companies, the MIT Corporation members, including chair **Mark Gorenberg** and chief financial officer **Glen Shor**, should take steps to divest MIT's $32 billion of net financial holdings from assets implicated in the occupation of the Palestinian territories.

A guide for such a policy can be MIT's own decision in 2007 to divest from and condemn the Darfur genocide in Sudan, as well as the recent decisions by Trinity College Dublin, Norway's pension and sovereign wealth funds, and the UK's biggest private pension fund USS (Universities Superannuation Scheme) to divest from assets implicated in the illegal, colonial occupation of the Palestinian territories. Individual corporation trustees in particular should hold and agitate for a divestment vote. Additionally, the MIT corporation can work to transform itself into a more democratic and transparent decision-making body, one that represents the voice of students and faculty, not wealthy donors and oligarchs.

MIT Vice Provost for International Activities Duane Boning: As a member of MIT's International Coordinating Committee and Senior Risk Group, the vice provost for international activities must act in coordination with the above officers to immediately announce a change in MIT policy that indefinitely suspends all research funding channels and institutional engagements with the Israeli ministry of defense. The vice provost should also act to add all projects funded by people or entities from Israel to the elevated risk review process, which it currently requires for China, Russia, and Saudi Arabia. The bass for such inclusion are many, but include reasonable concerns that "research outcomes will be used in ways that would infringe on political, human, or civil rights in a foreign country" or that such engagements "will indirectly legitimize violations of political, human, or civil rights in that country." A guide for such a decision would be the decision by Duane Boning's predecessor Richard Lester in concert with the Senior Risk Group to end the participation of Saudi Aramco in the MIT Energy Initiative and decline any further sponsored engagements between MIT and Aramco.

MIT Vice President for Research Ian Waitz: As a member of MIT's International Coordinating Committee and Senior Risk Group, the office of the vice president for research must act in coordination with the above officers to indefinitely suspend all research funding channels and institutional engagements with the Israeli ministry of defense. The vice president Ian Waitz should also coordinate to add all projects sponsored by Israeli-tied entities to the elevated risk review process, which it currently requires for China, Russia, and Saudi Arabia. The bases for this inclusion are many, but include reasonable concerns that such engagements "will indirectly legitimize violations of political, human, or civil rights in that country." A guide for such a decision would be the decision by Ian Waitz's predecessor Maria Zuber in concert with the Senior Risk Group to end the participation of Saudi Aramco in the MIT Energy Initiative and decline any further sponsored engagements between MIT and Aramco. The vice president for research should also use all available means to indefinitely suspend all MIT engagements with Elbit Systems, Maersk, and Lockheed Martin.

MIT Office of Strategic Alliances & Technology Transfer (OSATT): As a member of MIT's International Coordinating Committee and Senior Risk Group, OSATT and executive director **Gayathri Srinivasan** must act in coordination with the above officers to indefinitely suspend all research funding channels and institutional engagements with the Israeli ministry of defense. OSATT should also act to add all projects sponsored by Israeli-tied entities to the elevated risk review process, which it currently requires for China, Russia, and Saudi Arabia. This inclusion is warranted by reasonable concerns that "research outcomes will be used in ways that would infringe on political, human, or civil rights in a foreign country" or that such engagements "will indirectly legitimize violations of political, human, or civil rights in that country." A guide for such a decision would be the 2020 decision to end the participation of Saudi Aramco in the MIT Energy Initiative and decline any further sponsored engagements between MIT and Aramco. OSATT should also use all available means to indefinitely suspend all MIT engagements with Elbit Systems, Maersk, and Lockheed Martin.

MIT Career Advising & Professional Development (CAPD): MIT CAPD and executive director **Deborah Liverman** must use all available means to indefinitely bar companies implicated in the Israeli occupation from recruiting MIT students, researchers, staff, and faculty, including at all career fairs. Such companies include but are not limited to Lockheed Martin, Maersk, Elbit Systems, and Caterpillar. Given the systematic scale of crimes committed by US military and US and Israeli military contractors, MIT CAPD has an obligation to discourage MIT students from employment in the military-industrial complex. Instead, CAPD should work with students to cultivate careers that affirm and repair life.

MIT Industrial Liaison Program (ILP) and Corporate Relations: Director of MIT Corporate Relations **Gayathri Srinivasan** must use all available means to immediately and indefinitely suspend Elbit Systems from the industrial liaison program and startup exchange given that Elbit is Israel's largest arms manufacturer and profits from the Gaza Genocide. Corporate Relations should also undertake a review of all 800+ firms participating in the ILP and startup exchange, including Boeing, Maersk, Microsoft, Google, and others, to scrutinize their complicity in the Israeli occupation and colonial state. A precedent for such a decision would be the 2020 decision by MIT to end the participation of Saudi Aramco in the MIT Energy Initiative and decline any further sponsored engagements between MIT and Aramco following the killing of Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi. Given the systematic scale of crimes committed by US military and US and Israeli military contractors, MIT Professional Education has an obligation to discourage MIT research and expertise from benefiting the military-industrial complex. Instead, the MIT Industrial Liaison Program should work with partners that affirm and repair life.

MIT Professional Education: In concert with the above offices, MIT Professional Education Executive Director **Bhaskar Pant** must use all available means to indefinitely bar companies complicit in the Israeli occupation from benefiting from or recruiting MIT research, knowledge and expertise. Such companies include but are not limited to Elbit Systems, Lockheed Martin, Maersk, and Caterpillar. A precedent for such a decision would be the 2020 decision by MIT to end the participation of Saudi Aramco in the MIT Energy Initiative and decline any further sponsored engagements between MIT and Aramco following the killing of Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi. Given the systematic scale of crimes committed by US military and US and Israeli military contractors, MIT Professional Education has an obligation to discourage MIT research and expertise from benefiting the murderous military-industrial complex. Instead, MIT Professional Education should work with partners that affirm and repair life.

MIT Center for Transportation Logistics: In concert with the above offices, the MIT Center for Transportation Logistics (CTL) and its director **Yossi Sheffi** should indefinitely suspend its current contract with Maersk given that Maersk is shipping weapons and weapons components for use by the Israeli forces to commit a genocide in Gaza. The rationale for this exclusion include reasonable concerns that Maersk corporate activities "infringe on political, human, or civil rights in a foreign country" and that such MIT engagements "will indirectly legitimize violations of political, human, or civil rights in that country." A precedent for such a decision would be the 2020 decision by MIT to end the participation of Saudi Aramco in the MIT Energy Initiative and decline any further engagements between MIT and Aramco following the killing of Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi.

MIT Science and Technology Initiatives (MISTI): In concert with the above offices, the MIT Science and Technology Initiatives (MISTI) should take steps to indefinitely suspend all further Lockheed Martin Seed Funds, including those in Germany and Poland, given that Lockheed Martin manufactures weapons for use by the Israeli forces to commit genocide in Gaza. Managing Director of MISTI programs in the MENA Region **David Dolev** should review existing MISTI-Israel programs to determine whether they comply with anti-apartheid principles and a rigorous elevated risk review process to determine whether engagements will aid or indirectly legitimize "violations of political, human, or civil rights in that country."

5.2: MIT Faculty

MIT professor Noam Chomsky at draft card burning protest, 1967 © Peter Simon

> "It is the responsibility of intellectuals to speak the truth and to expose lies."
>
> — MIT Emeritus Professor Noam Chomsky, 1967

Responsibility for ending the genocide in Palestine is shared by MIT faculty and principal investigators (PIs). PIs can and must immediately reject sponsorships and partnerships with the Israeli military, Elbit, Maersk, and other corporations implicated in the Israeli occupation. The International Advisory Committee can advise a broad ban on Israeli government research sponsors given real human rights concerns and add Israel to the Elevated Risk Review Process that it currently requires for Saudi Arabia, China, and Russia. Faculty advisors have influence over students and can set the tone for what kind of collaborations are acceptable. They can acknowledge the trauma and cruelty being inflicted on Palestinians and encourage students to direct their talents away from the military-industrial complex and toward a responsible scientific ethos that promotes life and human flourishing. Concerned faculty can also write, flex existing mechanisms of faculty governance and advisory channels, pass resolutions, go on strike, join students in protest, defend student activists in disciplinary hearings, and organize with MIT Faculty and Staff for Palestine.

MIT faculty have stood up to militarism before. Noam Chomsky and Henry Kendall challenged MIT's complicity in militarism through fora like Scientists Strike For Peace and Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. In the 1980s, Willard R. Johnson became a major voice in the anti-apartheid movement at the Institute. In 1966, the chair of MIT's mechanical engineering department Ascher Shapiro and his colleague Ronald Probstein decided to shift the research agenda of the Fluid Mechanics Laboratory to civilian technology. Shapiro left ballistics research to study the fluid mechanics of heart valves. Probstein investigated ways to better de-salinize sea water. Others in the lab took on smokestack design, nitric oxide emissions, and oil spills. By 1969, two-thirds of lab funding came from civilian sources, and half of graduates were entering civilian industry. In 1970, Shapiro had enough momentum to call for full divestment from the Pentagon across the entire MIT funding apparatus. Faculty should build on that legacy.

5.3: MIT Students

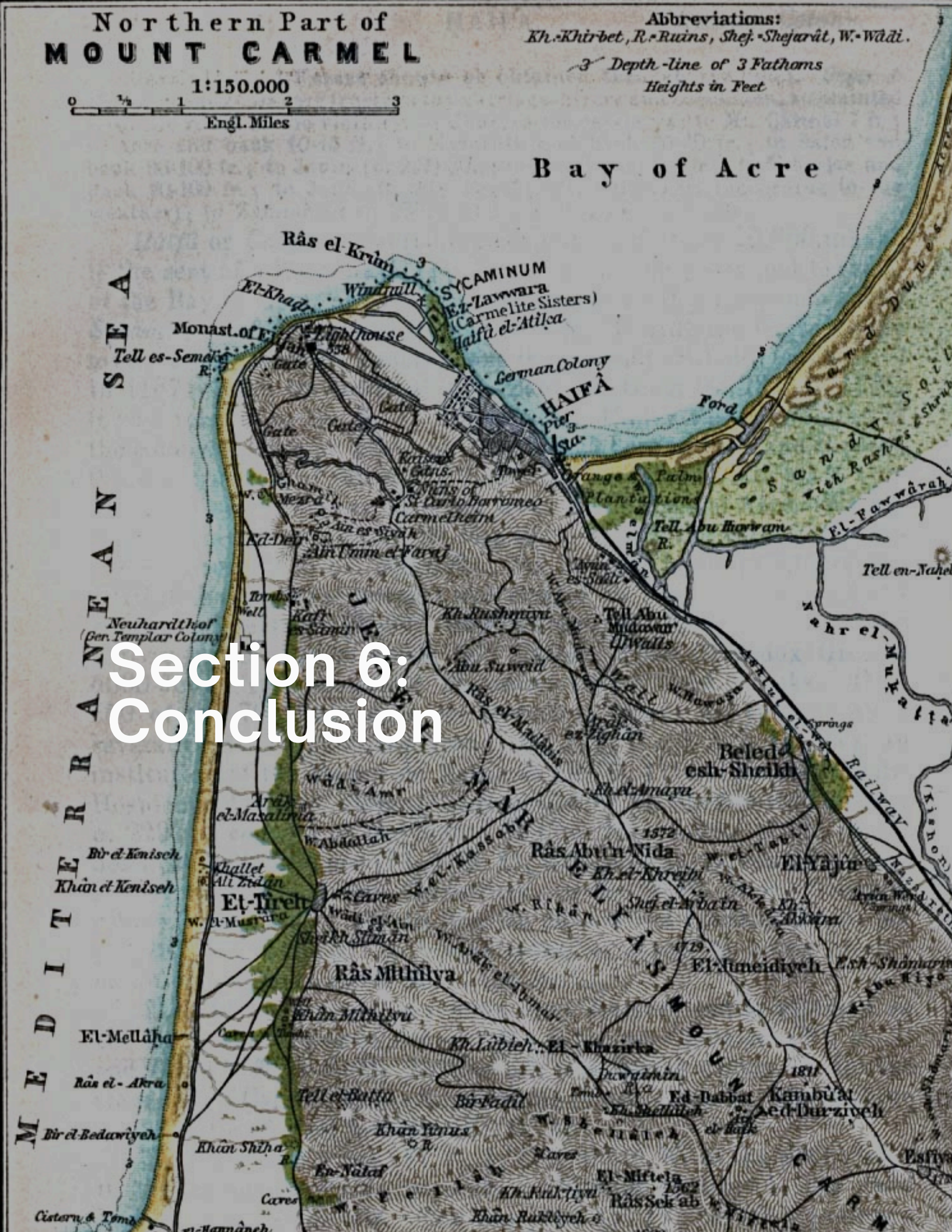
> "They'll say that we are disturbing the peace. There is no peace. What bothers them is that we are disturbing the war"
>
> — Howard Zinn, 1971

MIT students have an obligation to learn about Palestine, educate one another, dissent, protest, disrupt, and in some cases exact costs on authorities through direct action. That obligation follows a righteous tradition of civil disobedience. In 1987, the CAA erected a shantytown on Kresge lawn to urge the MIT Corporation to divest from apartheid South Africa.

In 2007, MIT student activists successfully pushed MIT to condemn and divest from the genocide in Darfur, Sudan. MIT students join our predecessors in demanding that MIT research should affirm human life, not build dystopian and militarized futures. We reject the abuse of appeals to academic freedom in order to manufacture consent for genocide. As our colleague Ira Rubenzahl (SACC student leader) told *The Tech* in 1969: "One doesn't have the right to build gas chambers to kill people." To that we add, "One does not have the right to build drones to kill people." Academic freedom must have limits; scientific institutions and laboratories do not have the right to collaborate with génocidaires. MIT students can join the MIT Coalition for Palestine.

We as scientists call on MIT to stop using our intellectual power to develop weapons and tools for the Israeli government in violation of international law. The Genocide Convention of 1951 itself criminalizes a secondary party's complicity in genocide. By providing both material and symbolic support to the Israeli military, MIT is violating the Genocide Convention. It is also violating the Geneva Conventions, the Apartheid Convention, and federal bans on providing material support to abusive militaries and state sponsors of terrorism. National governments and universities have manifestly failed to hold themselves accountable to these obligations. It thus falls to students of conscience in the anti-war, anti-apartheid movement to raise the costs of war through popular contestation and disruptive acts of civil disobedience and sabotage. The goal of such a campaign is clear: to threaten the university's sense of control and foment a multi-front crisis – a crisis of faith, profitability, legitimacy, governance, and willpower – which cannot be ignored and will in the words of Martin Luther King Jr. "inevitably open the door to negotiation."**[85]**

85 Martin Luther King Jr. "Letter from a Birmingham City Jail". April 16, 1963.


Northern Part of
MOUNT CARMEL
1:150.000
Engl. Miles
Abbreviations:
Kh.=Khirbet, R.=Ruins, Shej.=Shejarât, W.=Wâdi.
3 Depth-line of 3 Fathoms
Heights in Feet
Bay of Acre
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Râs el-Krûm
SYCAMINUM
Et-Khadr
Windmill
Monast. of Elijah
Lighthouse
Tell es-Semek
Gate
Ez-Zawwara
(Carmelite Sisters)
Halfâ el-Atîlca
German Colony
HAIFÂ
Pier
Sta.
Ford
Gate
Gate
Gate
Kaiserl. Gdns.
Ghamr Mezra'a
Plans of St Carlo Borromeo
Carmelheim
Ain es-Siyah
Ed-Deir
Ain Umm el-Faraj
Orange & Palm Plantations
Tell Abu Hawam
R.
El-Fawwârah
Tell en-Nahel
Tombs
Well
Neuhardthof
(ger. Templar Colony)
Kafr es-Samir
Kh. Rushmiya
Tell Abu Hawam
Walls
Abu Suweid
Wâdi
W. Rawaga
Mahr el-Mukatta
Springs
Railway
Beled esh-Sheikh
Râs el-Mallâbis
Khirbet ez-Zighân
Wâdi 'Amr
Kh. el-Amaya
Arâk el-Masalikha
W. Abdallah
1372
Râs Abu'n-Nida
El-Yâjûr
Bîr el-Keniseh
Khân el-Keniseh
Khallet Ali Zidân
Et-Tireh
Caves
W. el-Kassab
Kh. el-Khreibi
W. el-Musrara
Wâdi el-Ain
Sheikh Sliman
Shej. el-Arba'in
Kh. Abkâra
1729
El-Juneidiyeh
Râs Mithilya
Khân Mithilya
Et-Mellâha
Kh. Lâbieh
El-Khazirka
Râs el-Akra
Tell el-Batta
Bîr Fadil
Ed-Dabbat
Kaubûat ed-Durziyeh
1811
Bîr el-Bedawiyeh
Khân Yûnus
Khân Shiha
Caves
Ez-Zalaf
El-Miftela
1562
Râs Sek'ab
Kh. Kuk'tiya
Khân Rukbiyeh
Cistern & Tomb
Sand Dunes
Tell Rash es-Shuh
Section 6:
Conclusion

Conclusion

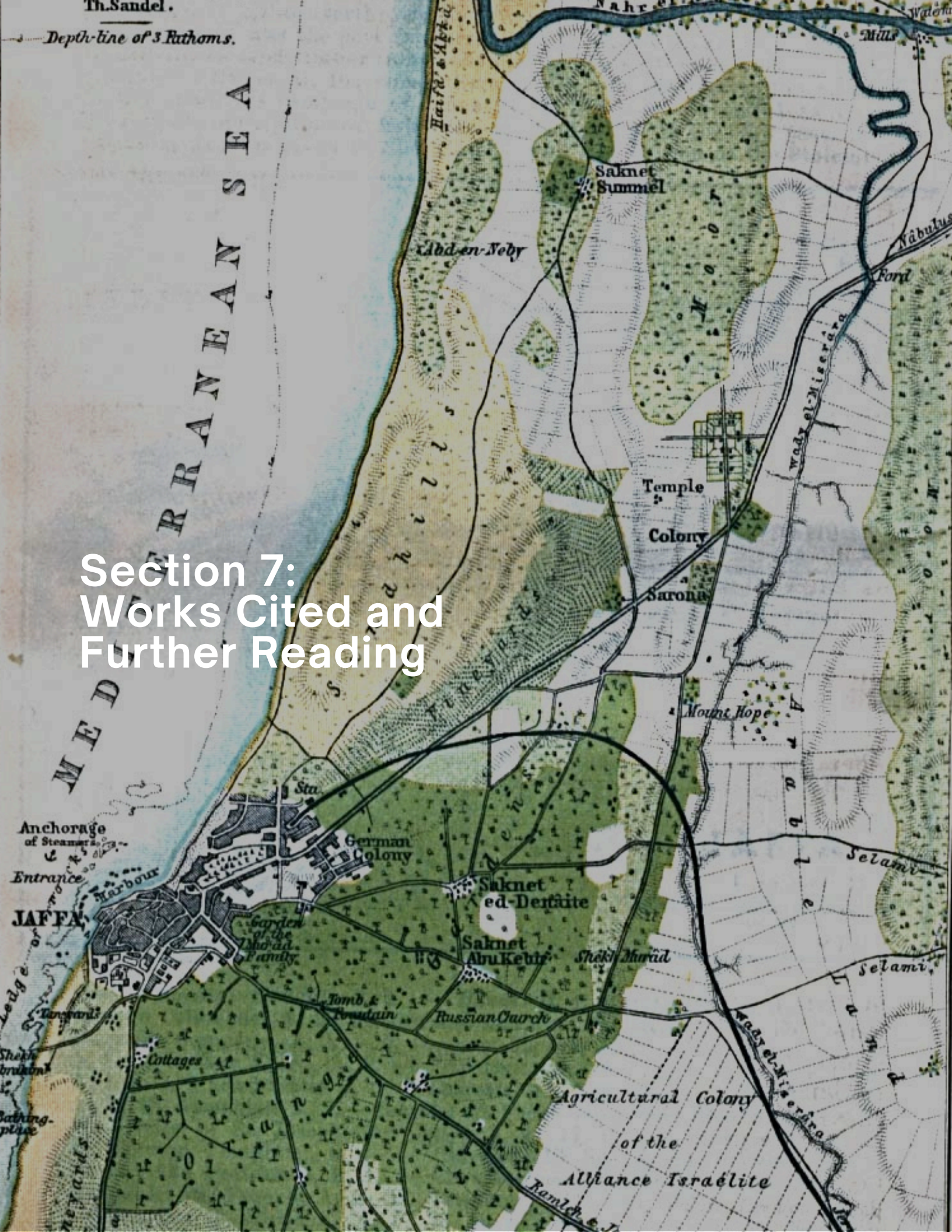
The Massachusetts Institute of Technology aids the oppressor in Palestine through its scientific research. MIT has conducted weapons and surveillance research directly sponsored by the Israeli Ministry of Defense since 2008. This primer has described how Israeli action in Palestine is genocidal in intent and effect and is propelled by a settler colonial project. Despite its anti-democratic origins and its anti-democratic destination, this project enjoys enormous material support from the US government as well as private actors. U.S. student movements have a role in breaking US support for genocide. That support is immoral, illegal, and unpopular within MIT's community. In 2024, student body supermajorities ratified two referenda and a Graduate Student Council resolution to end MIT ties to Israeli crimes, with ample support from faculty and staff. MIT policy demands these ties end. MIT has taken action to cut ties with research and corporate sponsors before over crimes against Ukraine, Xinjiang, Darfur, Saudi dissidents, and survivors of child sexual abuse.

Furthermore, the MIT Coalition for Palestine demands since fall 2023 are reasonable, clear, and actionable. MIT's senior officials, including the President, Provost, Vice Provost, Chancellor, General Counsel, and Corporation members have specific obligations, as do MIT faculty, PIs, staff, and students. What then is the hold-up? Why the intransigence? The truth is that MIT is not a democratic or a moral institution. It is pushed by pro-Israel forces on the other side—big donors, alumni, trustees, the US military, and reactionary members of Congress. No matter how cogently the coalition makes appeals to the instititution leadership's conscience, no matter how tight our arguments, the institution will only move on a polarized issue such as Palestine when the costs of stasis outweigh the costs of change. For that reason, MIT students must exact a cost, which research primers and polite emails cannot do. At the present, this can seem difficult while the apartheid state appears invincible: Israel is burning Gaza to the ground and fighting wars on multiple fronts. It rules over millions of people without basic human rights and enjoys the default blessing of the major US political parties, university officials, military, and major corporations.

However in the waning years of South African apartheid, Pretoria also attacked Angola, Mozambique, and Namibia. This did not disempower the anti-colonial struggle or reverse South Africa's increasing international isolation. Moreover, the Israeli political formation is more fragile than it seems. It is the most unequal country in the OECD. The human capital upon which most of the 'productive' economy is built is eroding through brain drain. Given outside options to emigrate, it is uncertain if Israel's more wealthy and internationally connected strata can tolerate a war of attrition, while the growth of an Israeli settler movement over large Palestinian urban areas has made Israeli territorial retreat politically impossible, exposing the settler project to the threat of revolution from below. Israel's unique dependence on US arms and finance makes it further vulnerable to American retrenchment.

Our role then is to be a support front for Palestinians waging an anti-colonial struggle for justice and freedom. By challenging US support for Israel, scientists at MIT can hasten the downfall of Israeli apartheid and the emergence of a more equal and democratic society in Palestine. Such is the long-term hope of the Palestinian national movement as articulated by its most eloquent proponents.**[86]** In the present circumstance for us, that means an immediate and permanent ceasefire, an end to the siege on Gaza, a release of all captives and political prisoners including the thousands of Palestinians in Israeli captivity, the prosecution and conviction of the Israeli leadership for genocide and crimes against humanity, the fulfillment of the right of exiled Palestinians to return to their national homeland, mass enfranchisement, the reconstruction of Gaza, reparations, land reform, truth and reconciliation commissions, and the birth of a progressive, democratic state established in a free Palestine from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea.

86 See for instance Darwish (1988), Karmi (2023), Abunimah (2007), Qumsiyeh (2004), Said (1999), Farsakh (2021), Eid (2024), and Muasher (2021).



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I may – if you wish – lose my livelihood
I may sell my shirt and bed.
I may work as a stone cutter,
A street sweeper, a porter.
I may clean your stores
Or rummage your garbage for food.
I may lie down hungry,
O enemy of the sun,
But
I shall not compromise
And to the last pulse in my veins
I shall resist.

Samih al-Qasim, *Enemy of the Sun*

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Research compiled by members of
the MIT Coalition for Palestine.

The **MIT Coalition for Palestine (MIT C4P)** is a diverse set of organizations, students and faculty united around a commitment to the liberation of Palestine. We support the right of oppressed and occupied people to resist their oppression. We fight for Palestinian liberation within the broader movement for liberation of all oppressed peoples. We defend the right of every human to lead a life of dignity.

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